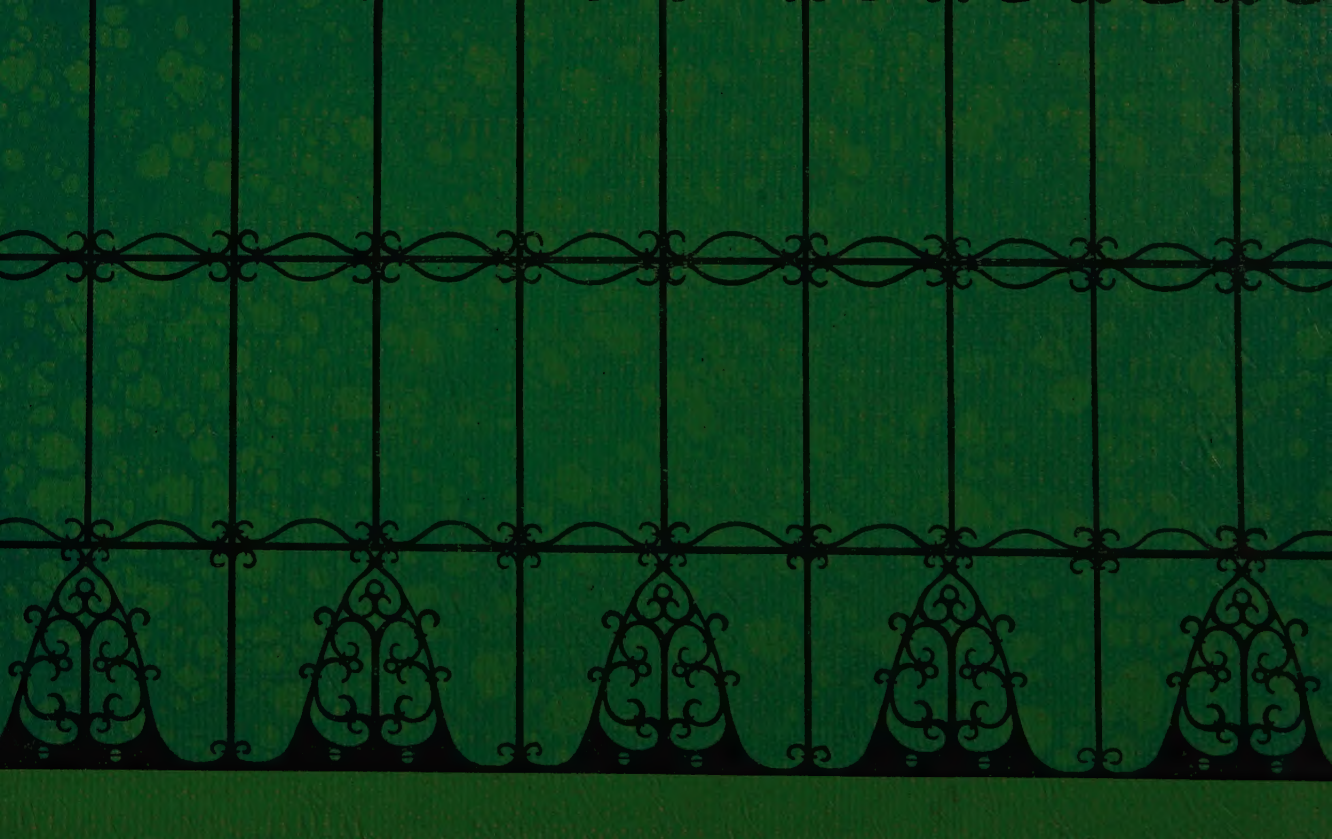

LIFE OF LINCOLN

WITHDRA
241

HERNDON'S LIFE OF LINCOLN

THE HISTORY AND PERSONAL RECOLLECTIONS OF

ABRAHAM LINCOLN

AS ORIGINALLY WRITTEN BY

WILLIAM H. HERNDON

AND

JESSE W. WEIK

WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND NOTES BY

PAUL M. ANGLE

ALBERT & CHARLES BONI

NEW YORK MCMXXXVI

portrayed there that they were bad men. They are co
trasted with other characters in history, and much to t
detriment of the old worthies. The reason is, that t
Biblical historian told the whole truth—the inner lif
The heart and secret acts are brought to light and faitl
fully photographed. In other histories virtues are pe
petuated and vices concealed. If the life of King Davi
had been written by an ordinary historian the affair
Uriah would at most have been a quashed indictment wi
a denial of all the substantial facts. You should not fo
get there is a skeleton in every house. The finest charact
dug out thoroughly, photographed honestly, and judge
by that standard of morality or excellence which we exa
for other men is never perfect. Some men are cold, son
lewd, some dishonest, some cruel, and many a comb
nation of all. The trail of the serpent is over them al
Excellence consists, not in the absence of these attribute
but in the degree in which they are redeemed by the virtu
and graces of life. Lincoln's character will, I am certai
bear close scrutiny. I am not afraid of you in this dire
tion. Don't let anything deter you from digging to t
bottom; yet don't forget that if Lincoln had some faul
Washington had more—few men have less. In drawi
the portrait tell the world what the skeleton was with Li
coln. What gave him that peculiar melancholy? Wh
cancer had he inside?"

Some persons will doubtless object to the narration
certain facts which appear here for the first time, a
which they contend should have been consigned to t
tomb. Their pretense is that no good can come from su
ghastly exposures. To such over-sensitive souls, if a
such exist, my answer is that these facts are indispensab
to a full knowledge of Mr. Lincoln in all the walks of li
In order properly to comprehend him and the stirri
bloody times in which he lived, and in which he play
such an important part, we must have all the facts—
must be prepared to take him as he was.

In determining Lincoln's title to greatness we must
only keep in mind the times in which he lived, but we mu

certain extent, measure him with other men. Many
ur great men and our statesmen, it is true, have been
made, rising gradually through struggles to the top-
t round of the ladder; but Lincoln rose from a lower
h than any of them—from a stagnant, putrid pool, like
gas which, set on fire by its own energy and self-
bustible nature, rises in jets, blazing, clear, and bright.
ould be remiss in my duty if I did not throw the light
his part of the picture, so that the world may realize
t marvelous contrast one phase of his life presents to
her.

he purpose of these volumes is to narrate facts, avoid-
as much as possible any expression of opinion, and
ing the reader to form his own conclusions. Use has
made of the views and recollections of other per-
, but only those known to be truthful and trust-
hy. A thread of the narrative of Lincoln's life runs
ugh the work, but an especial feature is an analysis of
nan and a portrayal of his attributes and characteristics.
attempt to delineate his qualities, his nature and its
ifestations, may occasion frequent repetitions of fact,
if truthfully done this can only augment the store of
er from which posterity is to learn what manner of
he was.

he object of this work is to deal with Mr. Lincoln
vidually and domestically; as lawyer, as citizen, as
sman. Especial attention is given to the history of his
h and early manhood; and while dwelling on this por-
of his life the liberty is taken to insert many things
would be omitted or suppressed in other places, where
cast-iron rules that govern magazine writing are
ved to prevail. Thus much is stated in advance, so
no one need be disappointed in the scope and extent
he work. The endeavor is to keep Lincoln in sight all
ime; to cling close to his side all the way through—
ng to others the more comprehensive task of writing a
ry of his times. I have no theory of his life to
olish or destroy. Mr. Lincoln was my warm, devoted
d. I always loved him, and I revere his name to this

day. My purpose to tell the truth about him need occasio
no apprehension; for I know that "God's naked truth," a
Carlyle puts it, can never injure the fame of Abraha
Lincoln. It will stand that or any other test, and at la
untarnished will reach the loftiest niche in American hi
tory.

My long personal association with Mr. Lincoln gave m
special facilities in the direction of obtaining materials fo
these volumes. Such were our relations during all tha
portion of his life when he was rising to distinction, that
had only to exercise a moderate vigilance in order to gathe
and preserve the real data of his personal career. Bein
strongly drawn to the man, and believing in his destiny,
was not unobservant or careless in this respect. It thu
happened that I became the personal depositary of th
larger part of the most valuable *Lincolniana* in existenc
Out of this store the major portion of the materials of th
following volumes has been drawn. I take this, my fir
general opportunity, to return thanks to the scores of frien
in Kentucky, Indiana, Illinois, and elsewhere for the info
mation they have so generously furnished and the favo
they have so kindly extended me. Their names are to
numerous for separate mention, but the recompense
each one will be the consciousness of having contribute
a share towards a true history of the "first American."

Over twenty years ago I began this book; but an acti
life at the bar has caused me to postpone the work
composition, until, now, being somewhat advanced in yea
I find myself unable to carry out the undertaking. With
the past three years I have been assisted in the preparati
of the book by Mr. Jesse W. Weik, of Greencastle, In
whose industry, patience, and literary zeal have not on
lessened my labors, but have secured for him the appr
bation of Lincoln's friends and admirers. Mr. Weik h
by his personal investigation greatly enlarged our comm
treasure of facts and information. He has for seve
years been indefatigable in exploring the course of Li
coln's life. In no particular has he been satisfied with an
thing taken at second hand. He has visited—as I also

865—Lincoln's birthplace in Kentucky, his early homes
Indiana and Illinois, and together, so to speak, he and
ave followed our hero continuously and attentively till
left Springfield in 1861 to be inaugurated President.
have retained the original MSS. in all cases, and they
e never been out of our hands. In relating facts there-
e, we refer to them in most cases, rather than to the
ements of other biographers.

This brief preliminary statement is made so that pos-
ty, in so far as posterity may be interested in the sub-
, may know that the vital matter of this narrative has
n deduced directly from the consciousness, reminis-
ces, and collected data of

WILLIAM H. HERNDON.

pringfield, Ill.,
November 1, 1888.

D I T O R ' S N O T E

E TEXT FOLLOWED HERE IS THAT OF THE ORIGINAL EDI-
of Herndon's *Lincoln.* In order to minimize foot-
es, I have inserted my own corrections and additions
he text wherever possible, enclosing them in brackets.
the same reason I have worked the author's footnotes
the text whenever they admitted of such treatment.
s procedure has made necessary the modification of
ccasional word or two, but otherwise the original text
ains unchanged. Unless otherwise marked, all foot-
es in this edition are my own.

Herndon described his *Life of Lincoln* as "a limited
—kind of subjective—inner life, with a mere thread
history running along." At times I have thought it
sable, in the interest of a better understanding of
coln's character, to supplement this mere thread; but
the most part the incorporation of additional material
been governed by the author's original purpose.

am under a heavy obligation to many friends. The
ce and encouragement of Worthington C. Ford, Direc-
of the European Mission, Library of Congress, have
most valuable, and I have profited greatly from the
estions of Logan Hay and Jacob Thompson of Spring-
, Oliver R. Barrett and Henry Horner of Chicago,
Marjorie Brown Wright of Pasadena. I am indebted
he Abraham Lincoln Association, the Illinois State
orical Library, the Henry E. Huntington Library and
Massachusetts Historical Society for many favors.

PAUL M. ANGLE.

V BOOKS HAVE CAUSED AS MUCH DISCUSSION AS rndon's *Lincoln.* Although a series of lectures and vspaper articles, as well as an extensive correspondence, familiarized many with the views of its author, the earance of the book was marked by an outburst of criti- n. By implication—and often directly—Herndon was ed an ingrate, a liar and a fool. Defenders replied t he was a conscientious recorder of the truth. Sweep- condemnation was opposed by sweeping approval. The controversy continues today, although in less acri- ious manner. To large numbers Herndon's mere state- nt is ample authority; to others it is only a reason for picion. Few have seemed to realize that he might not nvariably right nor invariably wrong, and that a knowl- e of his own life story would, in all probability, enable to distinguish between the true and the doubtful in his k. Herndon saw Lincoln, as it were, through the glass his own personality. An examination of that glass— personality—with reference to its imperfections and d spots as well as its excellencies, is indispensable. y thus can the degree of fidelity to truth in Herndon's *coln* be determined.

II

n the spring of 1821 Archer G. Herndon brought his ll family to Sangamon County, settling five miles north- of the infant village of Springfield. For five years farmed, and then, when its selection as county seat ned to assure the town a future, he decided to make it his

home. There he erected the "Indian Queen," Springfield's first tavern, and dispensed a generous hospitality which travelers remembered long after the crude accommodations were forgotten. Archer G. Herndon was, in fact, a man to be noticed. Intensely loyal in his friendships, violent in his hates, not too circumspect in manner or morals, he soon became one of the prominent figures of the frontier town. An ardent Democrat in politics, he represented Sangamon County in the legislature, and later became Receiver of Public Moneys at the Springfield Land Office. His business ventures—the "Indian Queen," storekeeping and stock-breeding—earned him prosperity beyond the average.

While the elder Herndon was thus establishing himself, his oldest son, William Henry, born in Green County, Kentucky, December 28, 1818, was receiving an education better than that which most boys in the town enjoyed. Public schools, of course, did not exist, but young Herndon attended several private schools of good quality; so that, by 1837, he was ready to enter Illinois College in the nearby town of Jacksonville.

His college career, however, was destined to be short. Founded and administered by New Englanders, Illinois College was a center of abolition sentiment. When, during Herndon's first year, the anti-slavery activities of Elijah P. Lovejoy of Alton resulted in his death, faculty and students joined in bitter denunciation of the outrage. Suspecting his son's sympathy with the attitude which prevailed at the college, the elder Herndon, himself friendly to the institution of slavery, and unwilling to have any share in the education of "a damned Abolitionist pup," ordered him to withdraw and return to Springfield.

The episode had two important consequences. In the first place, William H. Herndon was from that time thence an abolitionist. Writing later of his withdrawal from college he commented, "But it was too late. My soul had absorbed too much of what my father believed was rank poison." The Lovejoy murder filled him with "desperation." Though he acted with the Whig party until 1853

r 1837 the abolition of slavery was his primary political ective.

n the second place, his father's action threw him for first time into close contact with Lincoln. Father and had too many similar qualities of temperament for relation between them to be continually amicable. Both e intense in their likes and dislikes, both impetuous, both—at times—loved liquor too well. The Lovejoy ode caused a definite break between them. Young ndon left home. Before entering college he had ked in the store of Joshua F. Speed, and now he rned to that occupation. He made his home in a room ve the store, along with Speed, Charles R. Hurst and coln.

his was not, however, his first contact with his future ner. That had occurred five years earlier, when ingfield and the neighboring towns were thrilled by the t of the first steamboat to ascend the Sangamon River, *Talisman*. Lincoln and several others, armed with g-handled axes, had gone down the river to meet the t at Beardstown and clear the stream of overhanging ghs. At New Salem they were joined by a number of ous, excited boys on horseback who followed the craft g the river bank. Among them was Herndon. "I ember the occasion well, for two reasons," he wrote. was my first sight of a steamboat, and also the first e I ever saw Mr. Lincoln—although I never became uainted with him till his second race for the Legislature 834."

Herndon had relatives at New Salem, and consequently Lincoln frequently. It was not until the latter's oval to Springfield, however, that any degree of inti- y developed between the two men. "There was some- g in his tall and angular frame, his ill-fitting garments, est face, and lively humor that imprinted his indi- uality on my affection and regard," said Herndon of coln. In truth, the young lawyer and the clerk saw h of each other. In addition to sharing the same room,

they both belonged to a group which frequently met to en tertain each other with original compositions, more ofte than not bordering on the salacious. They were also mem bers of the Young Men's Lyceum, a more pretentiou organization whose purpose was the edification of th audience as well as the amusement of the participants.

Herndon continued to clerk for Speed until 1842, whe he entered the office of Logan and Lincoln as a student Upon the dissolution of that firm in the autumn of 184 Lincoln invited him to become his own partner, in spit of the fact that he had not yet received a license to practice Thus was formed a legal association which continue actively for sixteen years, and lasted nominally unt Lincoln's death.

More than one author has written contemptuously o Herndon as a lawyer, implying that he was almost dea weight to his partner. The facts do not warrant this con clusion. In the office of the Clerk of the Supreme Court o Illinois are preserved the journals of the court for th years of the Lincoln-Herndon partnership. These jou nals, carefully kept, generally give the names of the atto neys who made the arguments in each case before th court, and from them one learns that Herndon bore full share of the firm's important work. The two me seem to have divided the labor of the practice betwee them. During the six months when Lincoln was on th circuit, Herndon remained in Springfield, carrying on th routine of the office, trying cases in the justices' court and preparing for the next term of the circuit court. Whe the circuit court was in session, the two partners usuall tried cases separately. A similar division held in the work before the Supreme Court, while Lincoln handle the bulk of the litigation in the United States Cou himself, frequently attending sessions in Chicago as we as Springfield.

Charles S. Zane, who practiced with Herndon aft Lincoln's inauguration, and who frequented their offi for several years prior to that time, described the two me as practicing lawyers: "In their office and elsewhere th

tners always treated each other kindly and with great pect. Mr. Lincoln usually called his partner Billy and Herndon always addressed his partner as Mr. Lincoln. Herndon as a rule considered propositions and ques- s in the abstract, while Mr. Lincoln considered them e in the concrete. . . . As a rule they both did not age in the trial of the same case." Herndon, continued e, "did not spend much time in the preparation of his s; in that respect he was like Stephen T. Logan, Mr. coln's former partner; he was wonderfully ready. Mr. coln was more methodical and systematic. Mr. Hern- thought he was too careful in presenting his arguments he court, that he sometimes spent too much time in wing inferences in support of his propositions and in oning out his positions."[1]

n spite of no mean capacity as a lawyer, Herndon er liked his profession. Occasionally his dislike boiled in words. "I am in our Supreme Court hearing dis- ed the difference between 'tweedledee and tweedle- ','" he wrote Theodore Parker, "—a fine spun point r an absurdity woven out by some priest 1200 years e by now. . . . *I hate the law:* it cramps me; it seems to priestly and barbaric. I am above the suspicion of not wing somewhat of the history, spirit, and principles of law, and my feelings do not come of disappointment. I I hate the law."

mall wonder that, with Lincoln's steadying influence oved, his attention to his practice should become casual finally cease. Not long before his death he made a l attempt at practice. For several months he applied self assiduously. Gradually his interest slackened. One his partner noticed that the book in his hands was iving grudging, perfunctory attention. Suddenly it slammed shut. "Damn the law!" he exploded. With e words the legal career of William H. Herndon ended.

Quoted in *Lincoln and Herndon,* by Joseph Fort Newton, 52-253. Those who are familiar with this excellent book—and are far too few—will recognize the extent of my indebtedness

The Lincoln-Herndon partnership, however, was political as well as legal. Curious alliance it was, too, with the junior member serving in all sorts of capacities. When Lincoln was in Congress in 1848 and 1849 it was Herndon who kept him informed as to the state of opinion in his own district—who warned him time and again that his opposition to the Mexican War was not only costing him his chance of reëlection, but making certain the defeat of whoever should be the Whig candidate. Yet when Lincoln, reconciled to his fate and deep in the presidential campaign, took in hand the building of a Taylor organization in his district, it was Herndon whom he summoned for the task. "Form a 'Rough and Ready Club,'" he wrote, "and have regular meetings and speeches . . . gather up all the shrewd, wild boys about town, whether just of age or a little under age. . . . Let every one play the part he can play best—some speak, some sing, and all 'holler.'" The *Illinois Journal* soon announced the formation of a Springfield Taylor Club, and called on every precinct in the county to take similar action. First among the speakers it offered to provide stood William H. Herndon.

Between 1849 and 1854 Herndon took no more active part in national politics than Lincoln. The repeal of the Missouri Compromise, however, aroused both men. While the senior partner went no further than to oppose the spread of slavery, Herndon joined Lovejoy and Codding in radical Republicanism. His activities are best described in his own words:[2] "Firstly: I collected some two or three hundred dollars and sent this to the Republican association and other places; and purchased documents speeches, books, etc., and scattered them among our people I did this alone. Secondly: I commenced early in 185 in our county and spoke on every stump and in every church and schoolhouse therein, and thus carried our county by a larger majority than ever before." Yet when his radical associates laid a trap to commit Lincoln to their

[2] Herndon to Theodore Parker, December 27, 1856. In Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, pp. 101-102.

se, it was Herndon who warned him and who saved him
n a political pitfall.[3]

n 1856 Herndon played a part of some prominence
he formation of the Republican party in Illinois. He
nded the editors' convention at Decatur on February
and was elected a member of the State Central Com-
ee. In that capacity he issued the call for a Sanga-
County convention to select delegates to the state
ention at Bloomington. It was then that Lincoln com-
ed himself to the new party. In the ensuing cam-
n both men did their utmost for the election of
mont, but Lincoln's activities have largely eclipsed
e of his partner. "I commenced early in March, 1856,"
ndon wrote, "and spoke upon an average of twice a
k in almost every part of our wide-extended State—
e to tens and to ten thousand at once. . . . I turned
office into a kind of war-office—took the young, active,
rous honest men there and talked to them—got them
ke an interest that they would not otherwise have done
avor of human liberty—human rights. . . . I did
e good even in this department—the Law—of frigid
ervatism."[4]

ne result of Herndon's activities in 1856 was an in-
nt movement to nominate him for governor. During
spring of that year he spoke with particular effective-
at Atlanta in Logan County. A few days later the
ois Journal printed a letter proposing him for gov-
r. After noting that both Yates and Bissell were be-
mentioned for the place, the correspondent continued,
t there is another name which bears with it a prestige
reater force—a true, firm and abiding statesman; one
hom the highest trust might be committed without
of principles being sacrificed, or interest peddled off
man that spurns to lick the hands of the political
sters for the emoluments of office . . . a man that
in every requirement be a full and thorough exponent

[3] Please see *infra*. pp. 299-300.

[4] To Theodore Parker, December 27, 1856. Newton, *op. cit.*,
2.

of the Anti-Nebraska party, in the Commonwealth—it is Wm. H. Herndon, Esq. of Springfield."

There is little possibility that the movement would have been of any consequence had Herndon been inclined to foster it—which he was not—yet it is significant that the *Journal,* with which his relations were temporarily strained, made this letter the occasion for referring to him as "an earnest and eloquent defender of the constitutional rights of the north and an honest man;" while the *Illinois State Register,* frequently abusive, admitted that the Republicans "might go further and fare worse."

It was in Lincoln's contest with Douglas for the senatorship that Herndon rendered most effective service. Lincoln could address thousands in spectacular meetings, yet Herndon knew, as every politician knows, that elections were not to be carried in this way. "I am all the time at the schoolhouses and the village churches," he wrote in the midst of the campaign, "where good can be done and where the 'big bugs' do not go. There are no great crowds at these cross-roads places, yet they are really the places where good can be done." With the young men—the "wild boys about town"—he was particularly effective. "I am the young man's friend, and am not without influence among them," he confessed truly.

But there were other ways in which Herndon was even more useful. A hint of the nature of these services is contained in a letter to Lyman Trumbull, written not long before the campaign commenced. Douglas had broken irrevocably with Buchanan, and in punishment the 'Danites,' as the administration forces were called, were putting tickets in the field in an effort to split Douglas' followers and cause his defeat. So perfectly was this playing into Republican hands that there were many rumors of a contract between the Republicans and the Buchanan faction. Trumbull had inquired of Herndon whether such an agreement existed. "I know of no such contract finished, commenced or in embryo," he answered. "I think I would know it . . . probably sooner and better than Lincoln for you know he does not know the details of how w

along. I do, but he does not. That kind of thing does suit his tastes, nor does it suit me, yet I am compelled lo it—do it because I cannot get rid of it."

Two years later, in the presidential campaign, Herndon rked tirelessly, and again in 1864 he did strenuous serv-

After Lincoln's death his interest in politics waned, ugh he joined the radical Republicans in denouncing course of Andrew Johnson, basing his case, curiously ugh, on what he conceived to be Johnson's divergence m the policy Lincoln would have pursued![5] Late in his interest flared, centering, however, on free trade ıer than on the humanitarian issues which had so com-ely obsessed him in his youth.

Close as was their association in the practical workings politics, there was a wide gulf between the political efs of Lincoln and Herndon. Lincoln was the con-vative, hating slavery, to be sure, but unwilling to do re than advocate its confinement to the territory it ady occupied. Herndon was the radical, seeking the truction of the institution wherever located. "I hope ee the day when I can make slavery feel my influence. ıt shall be *the one* object of my life," he declared in 6. "It and myself are enemies. I am feeble: it is ng, yet I am right and it is wrong: nature—eternal h—is with me: error is with it. Thus we stand."

t was natural that a man of this conviction should seek make contacts with others of like opinion. This ndon did. From the early fifties he was in corres-dence with many leading abolitionists—William Lloyd rison, Wendell Phillips, Joshua R. Giddings and oth-

Theodore Parker, however, occupied the first place ıis estimation. When he first became acquainted with Boston preacher's writings he expressed his admira-in characteristic fashion: "May I say you are my l—strong, direct, energetic, charitable," he wrote. His r was the beginning of a correspondence which lasted l Parker's death, and which reveals, more clearly than d be done by any pre-conceived pen-picture, the curi-

[5] *Chicago Tribune,* October 3, 1866.

ous, effusive, attractive character of William H. Herndon.[6]

Through Herndon's letters to Parker one learns his estimate of those intellectual leaders with whom he had no personal acquaintance. Some of them appeared in Springfield—the golden age of the lecture platform was just beginning—and thus furnished the incentive for character sketches which throw more light on the personality of the writer than the subject. With others Herndon's only contact was through their published writings.

Henry Ward Beecher, when he spoke in Springfield in the autumn of 1855, was the object of particular enthusiasm on Herndon's part. "He will do good," he wrote Parker. "He looks a man and I suppose his Heavenly warrant does not deceive." When Parker seconded his enthusiasm, he became lyrical. "He is a new rose, fresh from the garden of the almighty forces," he wrote a second time of Beecher. "This age was fortunate in having so beautiful a present. He is a man—'a fresh minister'."

Hardly less enthusiastic was Herndon's approval of Charles Sumner, though his knowledge of the Massachusetts statesman was confined entirely to his published writings. "I am glad to see Sumner publishing the third volume of speeches," he wrote. "They are eloquent, chaste, classic. I admire Mr. Sumner very much: he is a man all over, inward and outward, from head to foot."

It took personal contact, however, to overcome Herndon's unfavorable impression of Garrison. "I had imagined him a shriveled, cold, selfish, haughty man," he confessed, "one who was weak and fanatically blind to the charities and equities of life, at once whining and insulting, mean and miserable; but I was pleasantly disappointed. I found him warm, generous, approachable, communicative: he has some mirth, some wit, and a deep abiding faith in coming universal charity. I was better and more warmly received by him than by any man in Boston."

For Horace Greeley Herndon had nothing but co

[6] All this correspondence is to be found in Newton, *op. c*

pt—the bitter, biting contempt of political disagree-
it. Greeley had made no secret of his wish that the
ois Republicans should adopt Stephen A. Douglas in
3, and to the partner of Lincoln this attitude was nearly
amount to moral turpitude. Herndon's letters to
ker abound in harsh expressions, frequently echoed
the recipient. Yet, when the campaign was finished
animosities had subsided, he had the fairness to admit
the New York editor, though perhaps unfit for high
ership, was at least an honest man, and that he still
him "somewhat."

was but natural that Herndon, in close contact with
leading reformers of the day, should take an active
in temperance agitation. In this case temperament
abetted by self-interest, for love of liquor was a fail-
which led him into occasional excesses. In the "Maine
" campaign of 1855 he was a leading spirit, writing
erous articles in support of the law and frequently ad-
ting its passage from the stump. Contrary to his ex-
ation, it was voted down.

erndon, however, had already had some experience in
business of making men temperate by legislation. As
or of Springfield from the spring of 1854 until the
ng of 1855, it was his duty to enforce a recent ordi-
ce prohibiting the sale of whiskey within the city limits.
is valedictory address he described his methods. "I
t personally to some, if not most of the groceries, in
city, with the instructions of the people in my hands,
h from the ballot box, and told them they *must* close
r doors. I told them kindly, I intended to see the
nances of the city executed—particularly the ordinance
nst the sale of intoxicating liquors, which you and I
been specially ordered to enforce and obey, by the
of the people." In the light of the modern raiding
y a curious, but refreshingly honest, procedure!

et neither sincere conviction nor official position could
come the temptation which became stronger with the
s. Though never an habitual drinker, Herndon's pe-
s of indulgence became more frequent, and threatened

to impair his success as a lawyer. His conduct was natur ally an embarrassment to his partner, though Lincol never alluded to it except once. That was on the occasio of his last visit to the law office, when, after an exchang of reminiscences, he suddenly asked the younger man ho often he had been drunk. Herndon told him accurate as possible. Instead of a lecture, Lincoln simply informe him how other lawyers had tried to displace him in th firm, and then turned the conversation to other subject

There has been in circulation for many years a per sistent rumor to the effect that after his partnership wit Lincoln, Herndon became a drug addict. The story i utterly baseless, though it is unfortunately true that member of his family became an habitual user of narcotics Equally false is the rumor that Herndon drank himsel to death. As a matter of fact, his periods of indulgenc were far less frequent during the last years of his lif than while he was Lincoln's partner.

Anti-slavery agitation and temperance reform by n means monopolized Herndon's interest. He was th possessor of an excellent library in which the works o Kant, Comte, Hegel, Louis Blanc, Montaigne, Franci Bacon and others of similar character held prominen places. He was interested in scientific discoveries, an eagerly read the writings of Darwin and Lyell as they ap peared. After Parker, his favorite American author wa Emerson, whose writings, in his eyes, were synonomou with truth. Never content to be a passive recipient, bu always forced by his own nature to propagandism, he fre quently distributed copies of Parker's sermons and Eme son's essays at his own expense rather than have acquain ances remain ignorant of them.

Omnivorous reader though he was, Herndon was n oblivious to the lure of the natural. Tiring of the law, frequently sought to regain his customary zest for life in

[7] Though I have this statement from what I believe to be u impeachable authority, I withhold the name of my informant order to save certain members of Mr. Herndon's family fro needless embarrassment.

g ramble through the woods and open fields. Often he
urned from such a walk to write a friend an account
what he had seen. The following extract from one of
letters to Parker is a good example of his power of
ervation and description: "I move down to a small lake,
end of which runs into a creek. The lake is in the
pe of a horseshoe, and near the creek fish have their
rt. There they play and spawn upon the ripple. I
looking at a large bass, playing backwards and for-
rds, breathing leisurely, as if he were in air. The water
ure and clean. The fish is about two feet long, fat and
ble. Wave but a hand and he is off into the deep. He
s his shadow and supposes it is another fish, for he
ms to woo it, twists his tail and wants to hug his
dow companion; yet it slips away from him."

Herndon's love of nature was almost religious in its
nsity. Holding no belief in any Christian creed, he
ertheless possessed a deep reverence for a God who
nifested Himself in the growing things of the earth and
people. "I love nature better than most men," he
te. "My first love is God, then man, then nature."
another time he expanded his creed: "My ideas of
ure and God have deepened and broadened, have be-
ne rich and warm in me, and I feel a fresh, vigorous
fidence in the purity of Nature, and the eternal love
God for all his creatures, multiform and multitudi-
s."

trange it is that the man who wrote these words should
e thought of himself as an atheist, and that posterity
uld have acceped his description. Yet Herndon's life
character offer even stranger contradictions. The son
a pro-slavery Democrat, he became a Republican aboli-
ist. An able lawyer, he hated the law. Correspondent
Parker and Garrison, and possessor of one of the finest
aries in the West, he was at the same time the trusted
nd and leader of the wild boys about town. Temper-
e reformer, his greatest personal vice was liquor. Ad-
ing Lincoln almost to the point of idolatry, he has been
inuously maligned as his chief traducer. Even his

love of truth, which he elevated above all things, has furnished an opportunity of attack for those who hold that in biography "good taste" should be the ultimate criterion.

III

For a number of years after Lincoln's death Herndon maintained a law office in Springfield, first with Charles S. Zane and later with Alfred Orendorff, but he spent most of his time at his farm a few miles north of the city. His real interest, however, was the accumulation of data for the life of Lincoln which he hoped someday to write. His quest for material commenced hardly a month after his partner's death, and continued until the end of his own life.

In the early summer of 1865 Herndon visited the Kentucky, Indiana and Illinois neighborhoods in which Lincoln had lived. There he interviewed every person who had any recollection of his partner or his family, and made careful notes of what they told him. Returning to Springfield, he followed up his inquiries by letter, often continuing the correspondence for years. When opportunity offered, he took statements from Lincoln's friends of New Salem days, and from his associates at the bar. Those whom he could not see in person he interrogated by mail. Had it not been for his tireless industry many incidents of Lincoln's life, now familiar to every schoolchild, would have been irrevocably lost.

Herndon's method of obtaining information and the spirit which governed him in his investigations are well illustrated by the following letter to Squire Hall. Hall had married Matilda Johnston, Lincoln's step sister, and was living with the other members of the family in Coles County.

SPRINGFIELD, ILLS., January 22d, 1866.

FRIEND HALL:

Will you have the kindness to copy Mr. Lincoln's bond to Johnson or your father, which I saw when I was down to see you. Copy every word, figure, and name *carefully* from to

ottom, and send to me, if you *please*. Don't fail. I want
o defend Lincoln's memory.
lease write to me at any time you may think of anything
is *good or bad* of Mr. Lincoln, truthfully just as it hap-
ed and took place. Were any of you boys applicants for
office made to Mr. Lincoln while he was President?
all—What is your honest opinion—Come *honest* opinion
reference to Mr. Lincoln's love for his kin and relations
erally. *Please*—friend—accommodate me

Your Friend,

W. H. Herndon.[8]

hough gathered primarily for his own use, Herndon
anything but selfish with the fruits of his labor. The
iors of several biographies—notably Holland, Barrett,
non and Arnold—were heavily indebted to him, and the
iber of magazine writers and journalists who drew upon
for information is beyond computation. One of the
er, George Alfred Townsend, who interviewed him
y in 1867, paid his debt by drawing an unforgettable
ure of his informant.

How young Herndon might have looked twenty-five
rs ago," wrote Townsend in the New York *Tribune,*
e can scarcely infer from the saffron-faced, blue-black
ed man before us, bearded bushily at the throat, dis-
d to shut one eye for accuracy in conversation, his
h discolored by tobacco, and over his angular features,
ch suggest Lincoln's in ampleness and shape, the same
-tender melancholy. 'Mr. Lincoln,' said Mr. Hern-
, 'cared so little about clothes that he sometimes did
put all of them on. He was brought up barefoot.'
Herndon, by parallel, wears today a bright yellow
of breeches, turned up twice at the bottom, and looks
e a wind-hardened farmer, rather than one of the best
yers in the State. . . . His address is homely in form,
mencing with, 'Friend, I'll answer your question;' and
he does without equivocation, with his long forefinger
nded, and with such a fund of new information upon
revered memory in question that although the Lincoln

Original owned by Oliver R. Barrett, Chicago, Illinois.

biographers, from Holland up, have talked with him, he seems to be brim-full of new reminiscences. With an extraordinary memory, and great facility of inference, and a sturdy originality of opinion, he had the effect upon me to stagger all my notions of the dead President."

The first use to which Herndon himself put his material was a series of lectures delivered in the winter of 1865-66. Both of the Springfield business colleges were offering lecture courses for the instruction of their students and the townspeople generally, and under their auspices he spoke three times.

His first appearance was on the evening of December 12, 1865, when he delivered his "Analysis of the Character of Abraham Lincoln" in the hall of Rutledge & Davidson's Commercial College. "A large and highly intelligent audience" listened with "the most marked attention"[9] to the analytical estimate which has since, in condensed form, become famous as the last chapter of the biography. On the 23rd of the same month he spoke again on the characteristically worded subject: "1st. Mr. Lincoln's Imagination and Fancy. 2d. Will and its Power. 3d Selfishness and Self-reliance. 4th. Religion. 5th. Eloquence, etc., etc., etc." Again a large, intelligent, "appreciative and refined" assemblage listened to his remarks. A month later, on January 23, 1866, he delivered his third lecture, this time on "The Patriotism and Statesmanship of Mr. Lincoln." Not only was the audience large, intelligent and refined, but "fashionable" as well.[10]

So far Herndon had got along excellently. His audiences were interested, and the town's papers were showering him with compliments, predicting—rightly—that he was making important contributions to history. It was with the delivery of his fourth lecture ten months later that flattery turned to condemnation. On November 16, 1866 he spoke in the Court House on the subject, "A. Lincoln—Miss Anne Rutledge, New Salem—Pioneering, and the

[9] *Illinois State Journal*, December 13, 1865.
[10] *Ibid.*, December 27, 1865.
[11] *Ibid.*, January 24, 1866.

m called Immortality—or 'Oh! Why Should the Spirit Mortal be Proud'," and thus started a running battle many years' duration.

Though his first two lectures had been reported in part, fourth was the first to be published in full.[12] The ingfield newspapers welcomed in this fact an excuse not commenting on the production, but many papers where, abroad as well as in this country, printed exten- extracts. Some noticed the lecture editorially, the *cago Tribune* terming the Ann Rutledge episode an e tale," and expressing regret that it had ever been le public. Letters of remonstrance poured in upon ndon. In replying to one—from Isaac N. Arnold roaching him for explaining *all* the facts of Lincoln's —he set forth his biographical creed. "Is any man so ne," he asked, "as to suppose that any truth concerning coln will be hid and buried out of human view? Folly! best way is to tell the whole truth and let it burn lies. Lincoln is above reproach, thank God; let no fear to have all the truth about him brought clearly ight."[13]

The most serious attack, however, came from East nno, Scotland. There, in the U. S. Consular Service, living James Smith, formerly pastor of the First sbyterian Church at Springfield. When Smith, already tly disturbed by an extract from the Ann Rutledge ure which he had seen in the *Dundee Advertiser,* re- ed an impertinent letter from Herndon asking him to te first as a gentleman and then as a Christian the iculars of Lincoln's alleged conversion, he eagerly com- d with the request. In a widely published letter he ied that the law office was the place to judge character, implied that in the performance of his pastoral duties own opportunities had been incomparably superior to e which Herndon had enjoyed. Judging from the wledge thus obtained he was sure the relationship

[12] Herndon to Kline, Nov. 25, 1866. Original owned by Oliver arrett, Chicago, Illinois.

[13] Quoted in Newton, *op. cit.*, p. 292.

between Lincoln and his wife was a happy one, unaffected in the least by the New Salem romance.

In the latter conclusion Smith was probably right, but instead of stopping there he recounted how Lincoln had been converted to Christianity through the examination of a book of his own authorship, *The Christian's Defence*. For good measure he added a few references to Herndon as Lincoln's "false friend," and closed by comparing him with the assassin Booth.[14] Herndon replied by charging that the minister's reputation for veracity was none too good, and by contemptuously describing him as a "great old rascal."

Thus began the most bitter of all the controversies which centered around Herndon and his biographical labors—that over his account of Lincoln's religious opinions. The publication of Ward Hill Lamon's *Life of Abraham Lincoln* in 1872 was the next step in the dispute. Herndon had sold copies of his manuscripts to Lamon, and from these Chauncey F. Black had written the book. Many of Herndon's statements were quoted, and the damaging inferences of the author were frequently attributed to him.

One statement, which Lamon quoted, drew the particular ire of those who seemed to feel that the future of Christianity depended upon an affirmative answer to the question of whether or not Lincoln had been a believer. "As to Mr. Lincoln's religious views," Herndon had written, "He was, in short, an infidel . . . a theist. He did not believe that Jesus was God, nor the Son of God,—was a fatalist, denied the freedom of the will. Mr. Lincoln told me a thousand times, that he did not believe the Bible was the revelation of God, as the Christian world contends." To supplement this statement Lamon had printed others of similar character which Herndon had taken from John T. Stuart, James H. Matheny and other Springfield associates of Lincoln.

A reply was not long in coming. Upon the publication of Lamon's book James A. Reed, pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Springfield, interviewed the me

[14] *Illinois State Journal*, March 12, 1867.

om Lamon had quoted, and obtained statements to the ect that Herndon had taken liberties with what they had ually told him. Using these counter-statements as a mework, he put together a lecture the burden of which s that Lincoln, though not a church member, was in all er respects an orthodox Christian. After it had been ivered before numerous audiences Reed's lecture was lished in *Scribner's Magazine*.

Herndon answered with an address on Lincoln's religion, vered in the Court House at Springfield in the spring 1874, and published by the *Illinois State Register* as a cial supplement. He stood by his notes of the Stuart Matheny interviews, maintaining that in the years ch had since elapsed, those gentlemen had forgotten at they really told him. But to Thomas Lewis, whom Reed had also quoted, Herndon paid his respects in rds which, unfortunately, were too nearly typical of the re address: "I have heard good men say they would believe his word under any circumstances, especially so, e was interested." To support his case Herndon added additional testimony from Mrs. Lincoln and John Nicolay, the President's private secretary.

This controversy, in Herndon's belief, was responsible items which now began to go the rounds of the press, rging that he was a lunatic, a pauper, a drunkard, an del, a liar, a knave, and almost every other species of radation. These slanders he contradicted as well as he ld; but when, in September, 1882, the Cherryvale ansas) *Globe-News* published the following, his temper beyond control.

"Lincoln's Old Law Partner a Pauper

Bill Herndon is a pauper in Springfield, Ill. He was e worth considerable property. His mind was the most umentative of any of the old lawyers in the State, and memory was extraordinary. . . . Herndon, with all his inments, was a man who now and then went on a spree, it was no uncommon thing for him to leave an impor- lawsuit and spend several days in drinking and carous-

ing. This habit became worse after Lincoln's death, and like poor Dick Yates, Herndon went down step by step till his old friends and associates point to him as a common drunkard."

On November 9, 1882, Herndon issued a broadside which he entitled "A Card and a Correction." After implying that Reed and others who held opinions concerning Lincoln's religion opposite to his own, were in no small measure responsible for this and similar allegations, he made his defense in the following words:

"There are three distinct charges in the above article. First, that I am a pauper. Second, that I am a common drunkard, and third, that I was a traitor, or false to my clients. Let me answer these charges in their order. First, I am not a pauper, never have been and never expect to be. I am working on my own farm, making my own living with my own muscle and brain, a place and a calling that ever Christianity with its persecution and malignity can never reach me to do me much harm. I had, it is true, once a considerable property, but lost much of it in the crash and consequent crisis of 1873, caused in part by the contraction of the currency, the decline in the demand for agricultural products, which I raised for sale, in part by the inability of the people to buy, etc., etc., and for no other reasons.

"Second, I never was a *common* drunkard, as I look at it, and am not now. I am and have been for years an ardent and enthusiastic temperance man, though opposed to prohibition by law, by any force or other choker. The time has not come for this. It is a fact that I once, years ago, went on a spree; and this I now deeply regret. I however is in the past, and let a good life in the future bury the past. I have not fallen, I have risen, and all good men and women will applaud the deed, always excepting a small, little, bitter Christian like the Right Rev pastor and liar of this city, to whom I can trace some of the above charges. In my case this minister was an eager itching libeller, and what he said of me is false—nay, willful lie.

Third, I never was a traitor or untrue to my clients heir interests. I never left them during the progress trial or at other times for the causes alleged, drunkess. I may have crept—slid—out of a case during trial because I had no faith in it, leaving Mr. Lincoln, had faith in it, to run it through. My want of faith he case would have been discovered by the jury and that overy would have damaged my client, and to save my it I dodged. This is all there is in it and let men make most of it." [15]

Meanwhile, the long-contemplated biography was still written. Herndon's financial position, after Lincoln's th, was not such as to permit him to devote his time he book, while the reception which Lamon's biography ived was not likely to encourage another to attempt a lar enterprise. Realizing this, Herndon decided upon ries of newspaper or magazine articles rather than a -length biography. By this time, however, his health failing, and somehow the articles remained in the m of plans. It was then—the early '80's—that Jesse Weik of Greencastle, Indiana, a young man recently luated from DePauw University, visited Springfield. some years Weik had been in correspondence with ndon, and the older man soon took him into his com- confidence, entrusting him with his literary plans, asking him to collaborate with him in their accomment.

Weik accepted. Investigation, however, convinced him Herndon's material, supplemented with more that was ily accessible, was far too extensive and important to sed merely for newspaper or magazine purposes. He persuaded Herndon that the biography, after all, ld be written. With this end in view he made Springhis residence, and spent his free time for some years dditional research under Herndon's direction. Finally co-authors were satisfied that they had exhausted the , and the actual writing, largely to be performed by

[15] A copy of this broadside is preserved in the Illinois State orical Library.

Weik, was commenced. In the summer of 1889 the firm of Belford, Clark and Company, of Chicago, brought out *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life,* by William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik.

The attacks which Herndon's last lectures had provoked had foreshadowed the reception his book was to receive. In Springfield there went up a chorus of disapproval the echoes of which are still audible. Everywhere those who had come to conceive of Lincoln in more than human terms were shocked, and their denunciations were loud and bitter. The passions which the book aroused, and the specific points of attack on which the idolaters concentrated are well illustrated by the blast of condemnation with which the *Chicago Journal* greeted it.

"It is one of the most infamous books ever written and printed in the garb of a historical work to a great and illustrious man," the reviewer thundered. "It vilely distorts the image of an ideal statesman, patriot and martyr. It clothes him in vulgarity and grossness. Its indecencies are spread like a curtain to hide the collossal proportions and the splendid purity of his character. It makes him the buffoon and jester which his enemies describe—that is, it makes his buffoonery the principal trait of his mind and the most conspicuous of his habits. It brings out acts that should have been hidden—it reproduces shameless gossip and hearsay not authenticated by proof—it magnifies the idle and thoughtless antics of youth as main features of the man in his life and accomplishments—degrades and belittles him. Where it aspires to be pathetic and eulogistic it is a failure. The pathos is maudlin, and the eulogy is tawdry. . . .

"The obscenity of the work is surprising and shocking. Anthony Comstock should give it his attention. It is not fit for family reading. Its salacious narrative and implications, and its elaborate columnies not only of Lincoln himself but of his mother, and in regard to morals generally of his mother's side of the family, are simply outrageous. . . .

"That portion of the narrative which relates to Lincoln

rtship of Ann Rutledge and his subsequent attentions
Mary S. Owens, with his final marriage to Mary Todd,
ndelicate, in every way in bad taste, is insulting to the
nory of the dead, and calculated to mortify and lacerate
hearts of the living. Equally shameful is the discus-
of Lincoln's unripened religious, or rather irreligious,
efs, which he abandoned when he came to feel and
w that an overwhelming Providence was his guide. In
ts parts and aspects—if we are a judge, and we think
are, of the proprieties of literature and of human life—
leclare that this book is so bad it could hardly have been
se."

is pleasant to record that while this review stated
rately enough the attitude of large numbers of indi-
als toward the Herndon biography, it was by no means
cal of the opinion of literary critics. Many newspapers
mended the book, and several periodicals praised it.
and *The Literary World* not only spoke highly
Herndon's fidelity to truth, but predicted that the ulti-
e effect of the book would be to exalt the memory
Lincoln. "Here is the utmost that the plainest speak-
in love has to deliver about the personal life of a
ngely harassed and tortured man," commented the
r, yet, in the opinion of its reviewer, Lincoln remained
noble man of Nature's making, a statesman who fol-
ed humbly the teaching of the Eternally Righteous
er, a scarred and suffering hero, forever dear to every
American heart."

he *Atlantic Monthly* and the *Nation,* noted then as
for the quality of their literary pronouncements, both
e the book the object of discriminating praise. No
r estimate was made than that which appeared in the
r journal. For sympathetic appreciation of the char-
of the author, and for fine understanding of his
ose, it has never been excelled, as the following extract
show.

Mr. Herndon's personal recollections of Lincoln will
tless remain the most authentic and trustworthy source
nformation concerning the great man in the period

prior to his election to the Presidency. . . . The sincerit and honesty of the biographer appear on every page. I is impossible to doubt that he has meant to tell us candidl what he knows about Lincoln. His long and intimat association with his hero gave him unequalled opportunit of knowing and estimating the man. He does not look a Lincoln's career in the light of the great events and grea responsibilities of his Presidency, but interprets these i view of the known character and the familiar qualities h had watched in their growth for twenty years.

"The reader of these memoirs must not look for a adequate estimate of Lincoln's place in history, or for a authoritative judgment of his conduct of national affair during the great civil war. He must expect, rather, to b helped to understand how Abraham Lincoln became th man he was, and what manner of man he was when th election of 1860 threw upon him a burden of respons bilities hardly paralleled in history. The book is not suc a one as a trained writer would have produced. It is mor valuable because it is not. Facts are not selected with a to compose a predetermined picture; but we feel that a honest chronicler, who thoroughly knew his subject, ha collected nearly everything authentic which can be know of Lincoln before his great elevation. We have muc that is trivial, some things which are in bad taste, but w are made to feel, after all, that we are looking upon Lin coln's life as he actually lived it. It depends upon ou selves whether he is belittled by the revelation of thing ordinarily kept behind a curtain. We have the opportu ity to know him as the valet would know him, and if w are of the valet's make-up, the proverbial result ma happen, and he will be no hero to us."

Though he was now an old man, failing in healt Herndon's equanimity was not greatly disturbed by a tacks upon his book. "Men love old truths, never ne ones, as a general rule;" he wrote a friend,[16] "they hand

[16] Truman H. Bartlett, December 20, 1889. This is one of number of letters written by Herndon to Bartlett between 18 and 1891. The originals are in the Massachusetts Historic Society, Boston, Massachusetts.

hs gingerly, but there are some that do love the truth its own sake; and sooner or later the life of L. will them. I drew the picture of Mr. Lincoln as I saw knew him. I told the naked God's truth, and I'll d by it, let the consequences be what they may be. I k that the great majority of the critics look at the k favorably. I get a great many private letters con- ulating me on the book. It is a curious and a wonder- fact that no critic and no other man doubts the facts— truths stated by me in the life of L."

n one respect, however, Herndon was to be bitterly ppointed. "When I finished the life of Lincoln I was oor as a church mouse," he confessed,[17] "and am so To get it published I had to *bend to terms*. I was pelled to wait for books or money till the publishers e paid in full. They have not as yet been paid as I am rmed. Consequently I have received up to this day books—no money, neither of them. I am compelled ork on my farm today for my tomorrow's bread and er. This explains to you why I have not sent you a , but I will sometime, if I live."

hat time never came, for within a few weeks Hern- 's first publishers failed. Assisted by Horace White, egan the preparation of a new and revised edition, e brought out by a different firm. When everything ned to point at last to success, the final disappointment rposed. On March 18, 1891, death came to William Herndon.

IV

here can be little question but that William H. Hern- contributed more than any other individual to our wledge of Lincoln's life and character. Yet few ents have accepted all that he wrote. Even fewer e discarded his work in its entirety. Most have simply oted those parts of his book which harmonized with r own conceptions of Lincoln, and have branded as ob-

[17] *Ibid.*

viously untrue those statements which they preferred no to believe. Occasional attempts have been made to prov or disprove certain of his contentions by independen evidence, but successful as this method may be in isolate instances, a large part of the book is, by its very nature unamenable to such procedure. How, for instance, ca one prove or disprove that Lincoln told Herndon that hi mother was an illegitimate child?

It is this—the intimate, personal character of Herndon' biography—coupled with the fact that in some instance errors have been definitely proved, that makes a genera estimate of his reliability imperative. The material wit which to form such an estimate—to work out a genera formula, so to speak—is to be found in his own life an character.

Herndon was certainly not a liar. Surpassing even hi devotion to Lincoln was his passion for truth. Neve knowingly, would he distort a fact.[18] But to a passion fo truth must be joined the capacity to recognize it. It i here that personality enters. Emotional, sentimenta steeped in New England transcendentalism, Herndon wa inordinately fond of peering into the souls of his acquaint ances in what would now be called psychoanalytical fash ion. He was firmly convinced that truth could be got a by intuition, and he never doubted his own clairvoyan capacity. "If there is anything that a poor ignorant Sucke like myself can arrogate to himself it is this, namely, a intuitive seeing of human character," he once wrote Theo dore Parker.

Confidence in his power of intuitive perception was, i fact, a dominant characteristic of William H. Herndo Time after time he relied implicitly upon this facult When, early in 1858, he called on Douglas in an effort t discover what was in that statesman's mind, he was co fident that words between them would be superfluou "I told you once, if not oftener," he explained to Park some months later, "that if I could *look Douglas in t*

[18] For an apparent exception to this statement and its si nificance see pp. 314-15, note.

could tell what was going on. Doubtless you thought
s foolish. I did so, and told you all I dared, when in
on. There is a peculiar *tie* which binds men together,
have drank 'bouts' together. So with Douglas and
umble self. I am hard to fool, friend, by man. I
ead him about as well as he knows himself."

erndon's correspondence contains many references to
faculty. The politicians, the "knowing ones," say that
oln is certain of victory over Douglas? "My intui-
—brute forecast, if you will—my bones, tell me that
not safe; yet I hope for the best." The Republicans
linois adopt Douglas as their own? "I am a young,
sciplined, uneducated, wild man, but I can see to the
rd of this question. . . . My dog-sagacity, my mind
ct, says—fool!" And so forth.

was natural that such a man would seek to solve the
nas of Lincoln's character by the intuitive method.
he attempted to do so he himself confessed. In a
to J. E. Remsberg, written in September, 1887, he
ed what may well be the key to the whole problem of
redibility as a biographer.

robably, except in his scrapes," he wrote, "Lincoln
poured out his soul to any mortal creature at anytime
n no subject. He was the most secretive—reticent—
mouthed man that ever existed.

ou had to *guess* at the man after years of acquaint-
and then you must look long and keenly before you
ed or you would make an ass of yourself.

ou had to take some leading—great leading and a
established fact of Lincoln's nature and then follow
accurate and close analysis wherever it went.

his process would lead you correctly if you knew
n nature and its laws." [19]

was in this process of guessing, of analysing and in-
ng from known facts, that Herndon went astray.
always—not even often, in fact—but still frequently
gh to make his book unacceptable in its entirety. As

[19] A printed copy of this letter is in the Illinois State His-
l Library.

a reporter of that which he himself observed at first hand, barring, of course, inevitable errors of memory, he was unexcelled. Witness, as an example, his incomparable description of Lincoln's appearance. As an investigator he was less reliable. An emotional nature, easily roused to enthusiasm, is not ideal equipment for the weighing of evidence. As a delineator of character—an analyst—he was most fallible, tending to ascribe to Lincoln what would have been his own reaction in similar circumstances.

In short, when Herndon relates a fact as of his own observation, it may generally be accepted without question; when his account is based on the observations and recollections of others, the possibility of error must be acknowledged; when what he writes is obviously the result of inference—of "guessing"—it had best be tested by independent evidence, or, if independent evidence is not available, common sense.

If this estimate is correct, then Herndon's account of Lincoln's belief in his mother's illegitimacy, one of the main points of controversy in the biography, must be accepted without qualification, for it comes as an unequivocal statement made directly by Lincoln to the author. As a matter of fact, the weight of independent evidence supports the truth of the statement, although proof beyond the possibility of a doubt has never been assembled.[20] Even if it should be established that Nancy Hanks was born in lawful wedlock—a development which does not seem likely—Herndon's reliability would not necessarily be impaired. The question is so difficult of solution that it would not be strange if Lincoln himself had been mistaken.

This formula can best be applied to the second disputed point in the Herndon biography, the Ann Rutledge romance, by considering its two different aspects separately. Not only were Lincoln and Ann in love; but, according to Herndon, his affection for her was so great that he

[20] The case for the legitimacy of Nancy Hanks is best stated by Louis A. Warren in *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood*. The opposite view is ably and concisely put by William E. Barton in *The Lineage of Lincoln*.

th plunged him immediately into a period of near-
:nity, and affected him deeply—mainly by bringing on
ils of intense depression—throughout his life.

Herndon's account of the romance itself is based entirely
he testimony of others. At the time of Ann Rutledge's
th he was only seventeen years old, and had known
coln no more than a year, and casually at that. Even
he might have heard something of the attachment; but
lecture of November 16, 1866, makes it reasonably
r that his first knowledge of the episode was acquired
the autumn of that year, when he interviewed John
Namar at his home near Petersburg. McNamar gave
the outline of the story he related in the lecture. Given
lead, Herndon followed it assiduously, writing every
mber of the Rutledge family and every New Salem
dent with whom he could establish a contact. Thus his
was that of an investigator—not that of one who was
ording the story of a romance observed at first hand.
possibility of error must be reckoned with.

Of reliable evidence touching upon the romance itself,
re is not the slightest particle. No contemporary record
taining even a hint has ever been discovered. Several
siderations, however, merit mention. By his own state-
nt John McNamar, Herndon's first informant, had left
w Salem before Lincoln's feeling for Ann became evi-
t, and did not return until after her death. Moreover,
Namar and all of Herndon's other informants were
alling an episode which had terminated thirty-one years
ore they were called upon to describe it. It would be
nge indeed if some measure of exaggeration did not
ep into a story so perfectly suited for romancing. But
most important consideration is the fact that while the
tnotes in the biography indicate a unanimity of testi-
ny with reference to the love of Lincoln and Ann, such
not the case. Some of those to whom Herndon wrote
lied that in their opinion the affair amounted to noth-
others felt that Ann cared just as much for McNamar
or Lincoln, while 'Uncle' Jimmy Short, whom Lincoln
ted every few days, said that he had never heard of the

episode. Like many another passionate theorist, Herndo printed only the statements which supported his own cas Certainly Ann Rutledge and Lincoln knew each othe probably they formed a mutual attachment; possibly the were in love. But until reliable contemporary evidenc is discovered, there will always be room for skepticism.

For his account of the immediate effect of Ann's deat on Lincoln, Herndon likewise depended on the testimon of others. Here again the length of time between th event and the relation of it is worth bearing in mind. Bu here, for the first time, a contemporary record has som bearing. At New Salem there lived a certain Mathew Marsh who, on September 22, 1835, wrote a long lett to his brother in Portsmouth, New Hampshire. "The Po Master (Mr. Lincoln)" said Marsh, "is very careles about leaving his office open and unlocked during the da —half the time I go in and get my papers, etc. without an one being there as was the case yesterday. The lett was only marked 25 and even if he had been there an known it was double, he would not have charged me an more—luckily he is a very clever fellow and a particula friend of mine. If he is there when I carry this to th office—I will get him to 'Frank' it—." [21]

Now, as Herndon relates the story, the depression whi seized Lincoln upon Ann's death grew until friends feare for his sanity. Finally his condition became so alarmi that he was induced to put himself under the care Bowling Green, at whose home he remained "some weeks emerging with his equilibrium restored. But cold chron logy indicates that this version is somewhat too high colored. Ann Rutledge died on August 25, 1835. Le than four weeks later Lincoln was attending to his duti as postmaster, somewhat carelessly, to be sure, yet Mar implies that the carelessness was customary, and not t result of a recent emotional upheaval. Furthermore, letter gives no hint that Lincoln had not been performi these same duties uninterruptedly. In another portion the letter Marsh comments at length upon the prevalen

[21] Original owned by Oliver R. Barrett, Chicago, Illinois.

sickness in the community, and mentions several deaths. the death which is supposed almost to have impaired reason of his "particular friend" is passed by without ice. In view of these facts it is difficult to accept at e value Herndon's account of the cataclysmic effect of n's death upon Lincoln.

The enduring effect is, of course, pure inference. Hern- believed that Ann's death was largely responsible for coln's recurrent melancholy, and he also believed—at t in 1866, when he delivered his famous lecture—that n was the only woman Lincoln ever loved. Neither ef has probability for a support. Indeed, competent lical opinion holds that it is next to impossible, psy- logically, for an emotional attachment to endure for thing like the lifetime of a man unless it be stimulated frequent personal contact. Herndon was certainly essing" when he traced Ann's influence through Lin- n's life.

But what about the wedding at which Lincoln failed to ear? And what about the record of his domestic iculties?

Nowhere in his narrative does Herndon indicate that he among those invited to the home of Ninian W. Ed- ds on January 1, 1841. Moreover, he was not yet a lent in the office of Logan and Lincoln. Consequently, safe to assume that he was relying on the recollections thers when he wrote his story of the wedding and the sing bridegroom. And what a tangle of contradictions se recollections are! Every positive statement in sup- t of Herndon's narrative can be matched by an equally itive one in flat contradiction. In this dilemma, it would n to be the part of wisdom to disregard the reminis- ces and to try to discover what happened—or at least t did not happen—by a different approach.

From this point of view, there are certain significant siderations. In the first place, to shirk the wedding Herndon asserts Lincoln did is entirely out of harmony n his known character. In the second place, the mar- e license records of Sangamon County—which are

complete—show that no license was issued to Lincoln o or before January 1, 1841, which would hardly have bee the case had he changed his mind at the last moment. I the third place, a recently discovered letter, which canno yet be made public, proves that six months after Lincol is said publicly to have humiliated her, Mary Todd no only bore him no resentment, but was anxious that the former relations be resumed. Certainly this would no have been the case if Herndon's account is literally co rect.

Yet Lincoln's letters to Speed leave no doubt whatev but that the break with Mary Todd came on his own in itiative. If he did not break the engagement by failin to appear at the altar, the fact still remains that he brok the engagement. Moreover, the critical will do well to r member, before blaming Herndon too severely, that bringing to light Lincoln's letters to Speed, and the earlie character-revealing series to Mary Owens, he threw much light on the causes of the estrangement as is like ever to be available.

As to Lincoln's domestic difficulties, no fair-minde student can disregard what Herndon wrote. The suppor ing testimony of other contemporaries is too overwhelmin But here, as in his account of the Ann Rutledge romanc he was not content to let the facts stand alone—h must furnish an explanation. Gravely he explains th Mary Todd married Lincoln so that she might obta revenge for the humiliation to which he had subjected he and that the "bitterness of a disappointed and outrag nature . . . followed as logically as an effect does t cause." No better example can be found of the absurditi to which Herndon's propensity for drawing inferences l him.

Only the subject of Lincoln's religion remains. In t light of modern liberalism the controversy seems foolis Lincoln, said Herndon, believed in a God and in a life af death, and if he was skeptical of the divine origin of t Bible, he at least accepted it as a practical guide. But

not an orthodox Christian, and nothing infuriated the
or partner more than the attempts of various sec-
ins to claim him as one. In the controversies that al-
t invariably ensued, Herndon usually lost his temper,
the ministers themselves did not exhibit a notable de-
of Christian meekness and forebearance.

Moreover, it should be borne in mind that Herndon,
ly read in philosophy, was accustomed to the use of
is which to many of his readers and auditors had only
gue and sinister significance. When he described
oln as a theist, few understood what he really meant,
the same laxity which today confuses bolshevik and
list existed then with reference to the various de-
tions of religious unorthodoxy.

ad he written of Lincoln's religion in the biography
e wrote of it in a personal letter,[22] there could have been
cause for complaint. "I have often said that Mr.
oln was an *Infidel* and *I say it now,*" he stated. ". . .
what is an Infidel? As the Infidels use the word it
ns *those who deny that the Bible is the divine special*
lation of God. . . . Lincoln was a *Deist* if that word
—fits the case better. *I well know that all this is no*
ence of a want of religion in Mr. Lincoln: it is rather
vidence that he had *his own* religion. I have said for
e than *twenty* years that Mr. Lincoln was *a thoroughly*
ious man—a man of exalted notions of right—justice
ity, etc., etc." Truly, as Herndon observed in another
ection, "the world is full of fuss and fight simply
use men do not understand one another."

evertheless, there can be little question but that during
last years of his life Lincoln went through a spiritual
lopment with which his former partner was unfamil-
The tragedy of war and the death of William Wallace,
favorite son, both contributed to the depth of religious
ng so evident in his later writings. Had Herndon
vn of this growth he might have written more warmly

[22] To Truman H. Bartlett, October, 1887. The italics are
don's.

of Lincoln's faith. That he was unfamiliar with it in r
wise invalidates what he wrote of the religion of the earli
Lincoln.

After all, these weaknesses are no more than slight blem
ishes in a notable book. Admit that Herndon exaggerate
the effect of the death of Ann Rutledge, admit that h
colored the wedding scene too highly, admit that now an
then he drew a foolish inference—and the value of h
work is not perceptibly affected. Half a century and mo
has only given emphasis to the prediction of Horace Whi
that "as a portraiture of the man Lincoln. . . . I ventu
to think that Mr. Herndon's work will never be surpassed

LIFE OF LINCOLN

H A P T E R O N E

ND THE FACT THAT HE WAS BORN ON THE 12TH DAY
ebruary, 1809, in Hardin County, Kentucky, Mr.
oln usually had but little to say of himself, the lives
is parents, or the history of the family before their
val to Indiana. If he mentioned the subject at all, it
with great reluctance and significant reserve. There
something about his origin he never cared to dwell
. His nomination for the Presidency in 1860, how-
made the publication of his life a necessity, and
cted to Springfield an army of campaign biographers
newspaper men. They met him in his office, stopped
in his walks, and followed him to his house. Artists
to paint his picture, and sculptors to make his bust.
autographs were in demand, and people came long
nces to shake him by the hand. This sudden elevation
tional prominence found Mr. Lincoln unprepared in a
measure for the unaccustomed demonstrations that
ed him. While he was easy of approach and equally
eous to all, yet, as he said to me one evening after a
day of hand-shaking, he could not understand why
e should make so much over him.

nong the earliest newspaper men to arrive in Spring-
after the Chicago convention was the late J. L. Scripps
e Chicago *Tribune,* who proposed to prepare a history
s life. Mr. Lincoln deprecated the idea of writing
a campaign biography. "Why, Scripps," said he, "it
reat piece of folly to attempt to make anything out of
r my early life. It can all be condensed in to a single
nce, and that sentence you will find in Gray's Elegy,

'The short and simple annals of the poor.'

That's my life, and that's all you or anyone else can mak out of it."

He did, however, communicate some facts and meagr incidents of his early days, and, with the matter thus ob tained, Mr. Scripps prepared his book. Soon after th death of Lincoln I received a letter from Scripps, in whic among other things, he recalled the meeting with Lincol and the view he took of the biography matter.

"Lincoln seemed to be painfully impressed," he wrot "with the extreme poverty of his early surroundings, an the utter absence of all romantic and heroic elements. H communicated some facts to me concerning his ancestr which he did not wish to have published then, and which have never spoken of or alluded to before."

What the facts referred to by Mr. Scripps were we c not know; for he died several years ago without, so far is known, revealing them to anyone.

On the subject of his ancestry and origin I only remem ber one time when Mr. Lincoln ever referred to it. was about 1850, when he and I were driving in his on horse buggy to the court in Menard County, Illinois. T suit we were going to try was one in which we were likel either directly or collaterally, to touch upon the subje of hereditary traits. During the ride he spoke, for t first time in my hearing, of his mother, dwelling on h characteristics, and mentioning and enumerating wh qualities he inherited from her. He said, among oth things, that she was the illegitimate daughter of Lu Hanks and a well-bred Virginia farmer or planter;[1] a he argued that from this last source came his power of a

[1] Please see preface, p. xl. The original edition conta the following footnote to this paragraph: "Dennis and Jo Hanks have always insisted that Lincoln's mother was not Hanks, but a Sparrow. Both of them wrote to me that s was the fact. Their object in insisting on this is apparent wh it is shown that Nancy Hanks was the daughter of Lucy Han who *afterward* married Henry Sparrow. It will be obser that Mr. Lincoln claimed that his mother was a Hanks."

s, his logic, his mental activity, his ambition, and all the ities that distinguished him from the other members descendants of the Hanks family. His theory in ssing the matter of hereditary traits had been, that, certain reasons, illegitimate children are oftentimes lier and brighter than those born in lawful wedlock; n his case, he believed that his better nature and finer ies came from this broad-minded, unknown Virginian. revelation—painful as it was—called up the recollec- of his mother, and, as the buggy jolted over the road, dded ruefully, "God bless my mother; all that I am er hope to be I owe to her," and immediately lapsed silence.[2] Our interchange of ideas ceased, and we on for some time without exchanging a word. He sad and absorbed. Burying himself in thought, and ng no doubt over the disclosure he had just made, he round him a barrier which I feared to penetrate. His ls and melancholy tone made a deep impression on me. as an experience I can never forget. As we neared own of Petersburg we were overtaken by an old man rode beside us for awhile, and entertained us with niscences of days on the frontier. Lincoln was re- ed of several Indiana stories, and by the time we had ied the unpretentious courthouse at our destination, adness had passed away.

only two instances did Mr. Lincoln over his own leave any record of his history or family descent. of these was the modest bit of autobiography fur- d to Jesse W. Fell, in 1859, in which after stating that arents were born in Virginia of "undistinguished or d families," he makes the brief mention of his er, saying that she came "of a family of the name of rs." The other record was the register of marriages,

[2] To this remark, in the original edition, Herndon added a note, "If anyone will take the pains to read the Fell auto- graphy they will be struck with Lincoln's meagre reference mother. He even fails to give her maiden or Christian and devotes but three lines to her family. A history of Lincolns occupies almost an entire page."

births, and deaths which he made in his father's Bibl
The latter now lies before me. That portion of the pag
which probably contained the record of the marriage
his parents, Thomas Lincoln and Nancy Hanks, has bee
lost; but fortunately the records of Washington Count
Kentucky, and the certificate of the minister who pe
formed the marriage ceremony—the Rev. Jesse Head—
fix the fact and the date of the latter on the 12th day
June, 1806.

[Unknown to Herndon Lincoln had, on several o
casions, recorded what he knew about the history of h
family. While a member of Congress he had obtaine
the name of David Lincoln of Rockingham County, Vi
ginia, whom he wrote: "I shall be obliged if you w
write me, telling me whether you in any way know a
thing about my grandfather, what relation you are to hi
and so on." A reply was quickly forthcoming, and
quickly answered, Lincoln writing his Virginia relati
all that he knew about his two uncles and the four brot
ers of his grandfather, and closing with the questio
"Do you know anything about your family (or rath
I may now say our family) farther back than your gran
father?"

Other letters which may have passed between Abraha
and David Lincoln have been lost. So have all except o
of a later correspondence with another member of t
family, Jesse Lincoln of Tennessee. To him Linco
wrote on April 1, 1854: "From what you say there c
be no doubt that you and I are of the same family. T
history of your family, as you give it, is precisely what
have always heard, and partly know, of my own. As y
have supposed, I am the grandson of your Uncle Ab
ham; and the story of his death by the Indians, and
Uncle Mordecai, then fourteen years old, killing one
the Indians, is the legend more strongly than all oth
imprinted on my mind and memory. I am the son
grandfather's youngest son, Thomas. I have often hea
my father speak of his Uncle Isaac, residing at Watau

hink), near where the then states of Virginia, North lina and Tennessee join,—you seem now to be some ired miles or so west of that. I often saw Uncle Mor- i, and Uncle Josiah I saw but once in my life; but I r resided near either of them."

he most complete autobiographical statement which oln ever prepared, however, was written for none r than John L. Scripps to whom he communicated he facts" which he did not wish to be published. Know- hat this statement was to be the basis of a campaign raphy, Lincoln wrote it in the third person. That part h refers to his birth and ancestry follows:

Abraham Lincoln was born February 12, 1809, then ardin, now in the more recently formed county of La- Kentucky. His father, Thomas, and grandfather, ham, were born in Rockingham County, Virginia, her their ancestors had come from Berks County, nsylvania. His lineage has been traced no farther than this. The family were originally Quakers,[3] gh in later times they have fallen from the peculiar s of that people. The grandfather, Abraham, had brothers—Isaac, Jacob, John and Thomas. So far nown, the descendants of Jacob and John are still in inia. Isaac went to a place near where Virginia, h Carolina and Tennessee join; and his descendants n that region. Thomas came to Kentucky, and after y years died there, whence his descendants went to ouri. Abraham, grandfather of the subject of this h, came to Kentucky, and was killed there by the ns, about the year 1784. He left a widow, three and two daughters. The eldest son, Mordecai, re- ed in Kentucky till late in life, when he removed to cock County, Illinois, where soon after he died, and e several of his descendants still remain. The second Josiah, removed at an early date to a place on Blue r, now within Hancock County, Indiana, but no recent

n this Lincoln was mistaken.

information about him or his family has been obtained. The eldest sister, Mary, married Ralph Crume, and some of her descendants are now known to be in Breckinridge County, Kentucky. The second sister, Nancy, married William Brumfield, and her family are not known to have left Kentucky, but there is no recent information from them. Thomas, the youngest son, and father of the present subject, by the early death of his father and very narrow circumstances of his mother, even in childhood was a wandering laboring boy and grew up literally without education. He never did more in the way of writing than to bunglingly write his own name. Before he was grown, he passed one year as a hired hand with his Uncle Isaac, on Watauga, a branch of the Holston River. Getting back into Kentucky, and having reached his twenty-eighth year, he married Nancy Hanks—mother of the present subject—in the year 1806. She also was born in Virginia; and relatives of hers of the name of Hanks, and of other names, now reside in Coles, in Macon, and Adams Counties, Illinois, and also in Iowa."]

On the 10th day of February in the following year a daughter Sarah was born, and two years later, on the 12th of February, the subject of these memoirs came into the world. After him came the last child, a boy named Thomas after his father—who lived but a few days. No mention of his existence is found in the Bible record.

Most biographers of Lincoln, in speaking of Mr. Lincoln's sister, call her Nancy, some—notably Nicolay and Hay—insisting that she was known by that name among her family and friends. In this they are in error. I have interviewed the different members of the Hanks and Lincoln families who survived the President, and her name was invariably given as Sarah. The mistake, I think, arises from the fact that, in the Bible record referred to all that portion relating to the birth of "Sarah, daughter of Thomas and Nancy Lincoln," down to the word Nancy has been torn away, and the latter name has therefore been erroneously taken for that of the daughter. Re-

the entry of Abraham's birth below satisfies one that ust refer to the mother.'

fter Mr. Lincoln had attained some prominence in the d, persons who knew both himself and his father were tantly pointing to the want of resemblance between wo. The old gentleman was not only devoid of en- , and shiftless, but dull, and these persons were un- to account for the source of his son's ambition and his lectual superiority over other men. Hence the charge often made in Kentucky that Mr. Lincoln was in ty the offspring of a Hardin or a Marshall, or that ad in his veins the blood of some of the noted fam- who held social and intellectual sway in the western of the State. These hints were the outgrowth of the paign of 1860, which was conducted with such unre- ng prejudice in Kentucky that in the county where oln was born only six persons could be found who the courage to vote for him.

egarding the paternity of Lincoln a great many sur- s and a still larger amount of unwritten or, at least, ublished history have drifted into the currents of ern lore and journalism. Mr. Weik has spent con- rable time investigating the truth of a report current ourbon County, Kentucky, that Thomas Lincoln, for a ideration from one Abraham Inlow, a miller there, med the paternity of the infant child of a poor girl ed Nancy Hanks; and, after marriage, removed with o Washington or Hardin County, where the son, who named "Abraham, after his real, and Lincoln after putative father," was born. A prominent citizen in own of Mount Sterling in that state, who was at one judge of the court and subsequently editor of a news- r, and who was descended from the Abraham Inlow tioned, has written a long argument in support of his ed kinship through this source to Mr. Lincoln. He nasizes the striking similarity in stature, facial fea- , and length of arms, notwithstanding the well estab-

'Original footnote. Throughout this book these two words mean that the *entire paragraph* to which they refer was a ote in the first edition of Herndon's *Lincoln*.

lished fact that the first-born child of the real Nanc Hanks was not a boy but a girl; and that the marriage di not take place in Bourbon, but in Washington County.[5]

I remember that after his nomination for the Pres dency Mr. Lincoln received from Kentucky many i quiries about his family and origin. This curiosity o the part of the people in one who had attained such pron inence was perfectly natural, but it never pleased him the least; in fact, to one man who was endeavoring establish a relationship through the Hanks family simply answered, "You are mistaken about my mother without explaining the mistake or making further me tion of the matter. Samuel Haycraft, the clerk of th court in Hardin County, invited him to visit the scenes his birth and boyhood, which led him to say this in a lette June 4, 1860: "You suggest that a visit to the place my nativity might be pleasant to me. Indeed it woul but would it be safe? Would not the people lynch me That reports reflecting on his origin and descent shou arise in a community in which he felt that his life w unsafe is by no means surprising. Abraham Lincoln, t grandfather of the President, emigrated to Jeffers County, Kentucky, from Virginia about 1780, and fro that time forward the former State became an importa one in the history of the family, for in it was destined be born its most illustrious member. About five yea before this, a handful of Virginians had started across t mountains for Kentucky, and in the company, besid their historian, William Calk,—whose diary recently ca to light,—was one Abraham Hanks. They were eviden a crowd of jolly young men bent on adventure and f but their sport was attended with frequent disasters. Th journey began at "Mr. Priges' tavern on the Rapida

[5] This paragraph was originally a footnote. The various alle paternities of Lincoln are briefly but authoritatively treated J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton in the *American Mercury* for Ju 1925, under the title, "The Many-Sired Lincoln." In a letter Truman Bartlett, September 25, 1887, Herndon stated his own c viction: "My own opinion after a sweeping and searching exa nation—investigation—is that Abm Lincoln was the child and of *Thomas Lincoln & Nancy Hanks Lincoln*."

en only a few days out "Hanks' Dog's leg got broke." er in the course of the journey, Hanks and another panion became separated from the rest of the party were lost in the mountains for two days; in crossing ream "Abraham's saddle turned over and his load fell ndian creek;" finally they meet their brethren from m they have been separated and then pursue their without further interruption. Returning emigrants m they meet, according to the journal of Calk, "tell News of the indians" that certain members of the pany are "afrade to go aney further." The following more or less demoralization takes place among the ibers of this pioneer party when the announcement is e, as their chronicler so faithfully records it, that illip Drake Bakes bread without washing his hands." s was an unpardonable sin, and at it they revolted. ay later the record shows that "Abram turns Back." ond this we shall never know what became of Abra- Hanks, for no further mention of him is made in or any other history. He may have returned to Vir- a and become, for aught we know, one of the Presi- 's ancestors on the maternal side of the house; but his illustrious descendant was never able to establish fact or trace his lineage satisfactorily beyond the first ration which preceded him. He never mentioned who naternal grandfather was, if indeed he knew.

Abraham Hanks, owner of the dog whose leg "got e," returned to Virginia and served for more than two s in the Revolutionary Army.[6] It does not appear he was any relative of Lincoln. Intensive research, ever, has unearthed considerable information about President's maternal ancestry.

emming from England, the first representative of the ks family, in Lincoln's direct line, to appear in this try was Thomas Hanks, who entered a hundred acres nd in Lancaster County, Virginia, early in 1653. A ration later his descendants moved across the Rappa- ock to Richmond County, where Lincoln's direct an-

[6] Barton, *The Lineage of Lincoln*, pp. 316-318.

cestors remained for more than a hundred years, and where members of the family still reside. Good substantial citizens they were, attaining neither fame nor notoriety, and generally enjoying a reasonable measure of prosperity.

But Joseph Hanks, great-grandson of the original Thomas and maternal great-grandfather of Abraham Lincoln, was not quite so fortunate in worldly goods as his immediate forbears. By 1784, when he was fifty-nine years old, he mortgaged his farm in Hampshire County, where he had settled two years earlier, and set out for Kentucky. Among the eight children who, with his wife accompanied him was a daughter named Lucy, the unmarried mother of Nancy Hanks who in 1806 became the wife of Thomas Lincoln.]

His paternal grandfather, Abraham Lincoln, the pioneer from Virginia, met his death within two years[7] after his settlement in Kentucky at the hands of the Indians; "not in battle," as his distinguished grandson tells us, "but by stealth, when he was laboring to open a farm in the forest." The story of his death in sight of his youngest son Thomas, then only six years old, is by no means a new one to the world. In fact I have often heard the President describe the tragedy as he had inherited the story from his father. The dead pioneer had three sons, Mordecai, Josiah and Thomas, in the order named. When the father fell, Mordecai, having hastily sent Josiah to the neighboring fort after assistance, ran into the cabin, and pointing his rifle through a crack between the logs, prepared for defense. Presently an Indian came stealing up to the dead father's body. Beside the latter sat the little boy Thomas. Mordecai took deliberate aim at a silver crescent which hung suspended from the Indian's breast and brought him to the ground. Josiah returned from

[7] Recent research has established the date of Abraham Lincoln's death as 1786 instead of 1782, which would have been the year had he been killed two years after his arrival in Kentucky.

fort with the desired relief, and the savages were
y dispersed, leaving behind one dead and one wounded.
he tragic death of his father filled Mordecai with an
nse hatred of the Indians—a feeling from which he
r recovered. It was ever with him like an avenging
t. From Jefferson County he removed to Grayson,
re he spent the remainder of his days. A correspond-
(W. T. Claggett) from there wrote me in 1865: "Old
decai was easily stirred up by the sight of an Indian.
time, hearing of a few Indians passing through the
ty, he mounted his horse, and taking his rifle on his
lder, followed on after them and was gone two days.
n he returned he said he left one lying in a sink hole.
Indians, he said, had killed his father, and he was
rmined before he died to have satisfaction." The
gest boy, Thomas, retained a vivid recollection of his
er's death, which, together with other reminiscences
is boyhood, he was fond of relating later in life to his
lren to relieve the tedium of long winter evenings.
decai and Josiah, both remaining in Kentucky,[8] be-
e the heads of good-sized families, and although never
vn or heard of outside the limits of the neighborhoods
hich they lived, were intelligent, well-to-do men. An-
r correspondent, Henry Pirtle, wrote me in 1865: "I
v Mordecai and Josiah Lincoln intimately. They were
llent men, plain, moderately educated, candid in their
ners and intercourse, and looked upon as honorable
ny men I have ever heard of. Mordecai was the old-
on, and his father having been killed by the Indians
re the law of primogeniture was repealed, he inher-
a very competent estate. The others were poor. Mor-
i was celebrated for his bravery, and had been in the
campaigns of the West."[9]

n stating that both Mordecai and Josiah Lincoln ended
lives in Kentucky, Herndon was in error. Mordecai died
ancock County, Illinois, in 1830; Josiah in Harrison County,
na, in 1835.

Original footnote.

In Thomas, roving and shiftless, to whom was "reserved the honor of an illustrious paternity," are we alone interested. He was, we are told, five feet ten inches high, weighed one hundred and ninety-five pounds, had a well-rounded face, dark hazel eyes, coarse black hair, and was slightly stoop-shouldered. His build was so compact that Dennis Hanks used to say that he could not find the point of separation between his ribs. He was proverbially slow of movement, mentally and physically; was careless, inert, and dull; was sinewy, and gifted with great strength; was inoffensively quiet and peaceable, but when roused to resistance a dangerous antagonist. He had a liking for jokes and stories, which was one of the few traits he transmitted to his illustrious son; was fond of the chase, and had no marked aversion for the bottle, though in the latter case he indulged no more freely than the average Kentuckian of his day. At the time of his marriage to Nancy Hanks he could neither read nor write; but his wife, who was gifted with more education, and was otherwise his mental superior, taught him, it is said, to write his name and to read —at least, he was able in later years to spell his way slowly through the Bible. In his religious belief he first affiliated with the Free-Will Baptists. After his removal to Indiana he changed his adherence to the Presbyterians—or Predestinarians, as they were then called—and later united with the Christian—vulgarly called Campbellite—Church, in which latter faith he is supposed to have died. He was a carpenter by trade, and essayed farming too; but in this as in almost every other undertaking, he was singularly unsuccessful. He was placed in possession of several tracts of land at different times in his life, but was never able to pay for a single one of them. The farm on which he died was one his son purchased, providing a life estate therein for him and his wife. He never fell in with the routine of labor; was what some people would call unfortunate or unlucky in all his business ventures—if in reality he ever made one—and died near the village of Farmington in Coles County, Illinois, on the 17th day of January, 185 His son, on account of sickness in his own family, was

ble to be present at his father's bedside, or witness death. To those who notified him of his probable de- e he wrote: "I sincerely hope that father may yet ver his health; but at all events tell him to remember all upon and confide in our great and good and merciful ker, who will not turn away from him in any extremity. notes the fall of the sparrow, and numbers the hairs ur heads; and He will not forget the dying man who s his trust in Him. Say to him that if we could meet it is doubtful whether it would not be more painful n pleasant; but that if it be his lot to go now he will n have a joyous meeting with the many loved ones e before, and where the rest of us, through the help of l, hope ere long to join them."

Herndon's characterization of Thomas Lincoln, based the recollections of a few old men who had known him, t variance in general tone and in many particulars with results of recent research. It is true that he was not ader in any of the communities in which he lived, but her was he of the dregs. Sober, industrious—at least ing his early manhood—and upright, at several times ing his life he owned considerable property. Fre- ntly he held minor political offices and served on juries. several occasions he resorted to the courts to en- ce his rights, and generally he was successful. Con- y to the popular belief, he was able to write his ne long before his first marriage. And in the various rches to which he belonged, he was an influential nber.[10]]

Nancy Hanks, the mother of the President, at a very y age was taken from her mother Lucy—afterwards rried to Henry Sparrow—and sent to live with her t and uncle, Thomas and Betsy Sparrow. Under this e roof the irrepressible and cheerful waif, Dennis

[10] In his *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood* Louis A. Warren es a strong defense of Thomas Lincoln. Many documents ing to Thomas Lincoln are printed in Barton, *The Lineage Lincoln,* appendix.

Hanks[11]—whose name will be frequently seen in thes pages—also found a shelter. At the time of her marriag to Thomas Lincoln, Nancy was in her twenty-third yea She was above the ordinary height in stature, weighe about 130 pounds, was slenderly built, and had much th appearance of one inclined to consumption. Her skin wa dark; hair dark brown; eyes gray and small; forehea prominent; face sharp and angular, with a marked ex pression of melancholy which fixed itself in the memor of everyone who ever saw or knew her. Though her li was seemingly beclouded by a spirit of sadness, she wa in disposition amiable and generally cheerful. Mr. Lin coln himself said to me in 1851, on receiving the news o his father's death, that whatever might be said of his pa ents, and however unpromising the early surroundings o his mother may have been, she was highly intellectual b nature, had a strong memory, acute judgment, and wa cool and heroic. From a mental standpoint she no dou rose above her surroundings, and had she lived, the stim lus of her nature would have accelerated her son's su cess, and she would have been a much more ambitio prompter than his father ever was.

As a family the Hankses were peculiar to the civilizati of early Kentucky. Illiterate and superstitious, they co responded to that nomandic class still to be met wi throughout the South, and known as "poor whites." Th are happily and vividly depicted in the description of camp-meeting held at Elizabethtown, Kentucky, in 180 which was furnished me in August, 1865, by an eye-witne (J. B. Helm). "The Hanks girls," narrates the latt "were great at camp-meetings. I remember one in 18 I will give you a scene, and if you will then read the boo written on the subject you may find some apology for t

[11] In the original edition this note occurs: "Dennis Han still living at the age of ninety years in Illinois, was the s of another Nancy Hanks—the aunt of the President's moth I have his written statement that he came into the world throu nature's back-door. He never stated, if he knew it, who father was." Dennis Hanks was the natural son of Cha Friend.

rstition that was said to be in Abe Lincoln's character. as at a camp-meeting, as before said, when a general t was about to commence. Preparations were being e; a young lady invited me to stand on a bench by her where we could see all over the altar. To the right ong, athletic young man, about twenty-five years old, being put in trim for the occasion, which was done by sting him of all apparel except shirt and pants. On left a young lady was being put in trim in much the e manner, so that her clothes would not be in the way, so that, when her combs flew out, her hair would go graceful braids. She, too, was young—not more than ty perhaps. The performance commenced about the e time by the young man on the right and the young on the left. Slowly and gracefully they worked their towards the centre, singing, shouting, hugging and ng, generally their own sex, until at last nearer and er they came. The centre of the altar was reached, the two closed, with their arms around each other, nan singing and shouting at the top of his voice.

"'I have my Jesus in my arms
Sweet as honey, strong as bacon ham.'

ust at this moment the young lady holding to my arm pered. 'They are to be married next week; her name anks.' There were very few who did not believe this religion, inspired by the Holy Spirit, and the man could not believe it, did well to keep it to himself. Hankses were the finest singers and shouters in our try."

ere my informant stops, and on account of his death al years ago I failed to learn whether the young lady ter who figured in the foregoing scene was the Presi- 's mother or not.[12] The fact that Nancy Hanks did

Dr. William E. Barton, *Lineage*, p. 239, points out that don made an error of ten years in the date of this camp- ng. Actually it took place in 1816—ten years after the lns were married—rather than in 1806. Consequently the people Helm described could not have been Thomas Lin- and Nancy Hanks.

marry that year gives color to the belief that it was she
As to the probability of the young man being Thomas
Lincoln it is difficult to say; such a performance as the
one described must have required a little more emotion
and enthusiasm than the tardy and inert carpenter was in
the habit of manifesting.

H A P T E R T W O

AH, THE SISTER OF ABRAHAM LINCOLN, THOUGH IN
e respects like her brother, lacked his stature. She
thick-set, had his dark-brown hair, deep-gray eyes,
an even disposition. In contact with others she was
l and considerate. Her nature was one of amiability,
God had endowed her with that invincible combination
odesty and good sense. Strange to say, Mr. Lincoln
er said much about his sister in after years, and we are
ly indebted to the Hankses—Dennis and John—for the
e we have learned about this rather unfortunate young
an. She was married to Aaron Grigsby, in Spencer
nty, Indiana, in the month of August, 1826, and died
uary 20, 1828. Her brother accompanied her to school
e they lived in Kentucky, but as he was only seven,
as she had not yet finished her ninth year when their
er removed with them to Indiana, it is to be presumed
neither made much progress in the matter of school
cation. Still it is authoritatively stated that they at-
ed two schools during this short period. One of these
kept by Zachariah Riney, the other by Caleb Hazel.
difficult at this late date to learn much of the boy
aham's life during those seven years of residence in
tucky. One man (John B. Helm) who was a clerk
he principal store in the village where the Lincolns
hased their family supplies, remembers him as "a
l boy who came sometimes to the store with his mother.
would take his seat on a keg of nails, and I would
him a lump of sugar. He would sit there and eat
e any other boy; but these little acts of kindness,"
rves my informant, in an enthusiastic statement made

in 1865, "so impressed his mind that I made a steadfast friend in a man whose power and influence have since been felt throughout the world."[1] Samuel Haycraft, a schoolmate of Lincoln's at Hazel's school, speaking of the master, says: "He perhaps could teach spelling and reading and indifferent writing, and possibly could cipher to the rule of three; but he had no other qualification of a teacher, unless we accept large size and bodily strength. Abe was a mere spindle of a boy, had his due proportion of harmless mischief, but as we lived in a country abounding in hazel switches, in the virtue of which the master had great faith, Abe of course received his due allowance."

This part of the boy's history is painfully vague and dim, and even after arriving at man's estate Mr. Lincoln was significantly reserved when reference was made to it. It is barely mentioned in the autobiography furnished to Fell in 1859. John Duncan, afterwards a preacher of some prominence in Kentucky, relates how he and Abe on one occasion ran a ground-hog into a crevice between two rocks, and after working vainly almost two hours to get him out, "Abe ran off about a quarter of a mile to a blacksmith shop, and returned with an iron hook fastened to the end of a pole," and with this contrivance they virtually "hooked" the animal out of his retreat. Austin Gollaher of Hodgensville, claims to have saved Lincoln from drowning one day as they were trying to "coon it" across Knob Creek on a log. The boys were in pursuit of birds, when young Lincoln fell into the water, and his vigilant companion, who still survives to narrate the thrilling story, fished him out with a sycamore branch.

Meanwhile Thomas Lincoln was becoming daily more dissatisfied with his situation and surroundings. He had purchased, since his marriage, on the easy terms then prevalent, two farms, or tracts of land in succession; but none was easy enough for him, and the land, when the time for

[1] Louis A. Warren thinks that Helm's recollection was confused, and that John D. Johnston, rather than Lincoln, was the boy who visited the store. *Lincoln's Parentage and Childhood*, pp. 152-154.

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24

payment of the purchase-money rolled around, reverted
ts former owner.

Herndon's account of Thomas Lincoln's land-holdings in
ntucky is considerably at fault. Within a year after tak-
up his residence in Hardin County he purchased a farm
wo hundred and thirty-eight acres on Mill Creek, pay-
one hundred and eighteen pounds for it. Soon after
marriage three years later he bought a lot in Elizabeth-
n, the county seat. Here his daughter Sarah was born.
following year he purchased a three-hundred-acre
t on the South Fork of Nolin Creek, though he still
ed the Mill Creek farm.

was on the second purchase, generally known as the
king Spring farm, that Abraham Lincoln was born. Of
circumstances of that birth nothing definite is known.
may assume, however, that the surroundings were no
ner than those to be found in thousands of other fron-
cabins; and probably, in view of what is known of
mas Lincoln at this time, that they were better than
y.

For six years the Lincolns lived on the farm where Ab-
am was born. Then, his title being involved in litiga-
, Thomas Lincoln purchased two hundred and thirty
s on Knob Creek, some ten miles distant, probably
n money received from the sale of the Mill Creek farm
ing the preceding year. There he lived during the re-
nder of his residence in Kentucky.]

Kentucky, at that day, afforded few if any privileges,
possessed fewer advantages to allure the poor man;
no doubt so it seemed to Thomas Lincoln. The land
ccupied was sterile and broken. A mere barren glade,
destitute of timber, it required a persistent effort to
a living out of it; and to one of his easy-going
osition, life there was a never-ending struggle. Stories
ast stretches of rich and unoccupied land in Indiana
hing his ears, and despairing of the prospect of any
erment in his condition so long as he remained in Ken-
y, he resolved, at last, to leave the State and seek a
e inviting lodgement beyond the Ohio. The assertion

made by some of Mr. Lincoln's biographers, and so often repeated by sentimental writers, that his father left Kentucky to avoid the sight of or contact with slavery, lacks confirmation. In all Hardin County—at that time a large area of territory—there were not over fifty slaves; and it is doubtful if he saw enough of slavery to fill him with the righteous opposition to the institution with which he has so frequently been credited. Moreover, he never in later years manifested any especial aversion to it.

Having determined on emigrating to Indiana, he began preparations for removal in the fall of 1816 by building for his use a flatboat. Loading it with his tools and other personal effects, including in the invoice, as we are told, four hundred gallons of whiskey, he launched his "crazy craft" on a tributary of Salt Creek known as the Rolling Fork. Along with the current he floated down to the Ohio River, but his rudely-made vessel, either from the want of experience in the navigator, or because of its ill adaptation to withstand the force and caprices of the currents in the great river, capsized one day, and boat and cargo went to the bottom. The luckless boatman set to work however and by dint of great patience and labor succeeded in recovering the tools and the bulk of the whiskey. Righting his boat, he continued down the river, landing at a point called Tompson's Ferry, in Perry County, on the Indiana side. Here he disposed of his vessel, and placing his goods in the care of a settler named Posey, he struck out through the interior in search of a location for his new home. Sixteen miles back from the river he found one that pleased his fancy, and he marked it off for himself. His next move in the order of business was a journey to Vincennes to purchase the tract at the Land Office[2]—under the "two-dollar-an-acre law," as Dennis Hanks puts it—and a return to the land to identify it by blazing the trees and piling up brush on the corners to establish the proper boundary lines. Having secured a place for his home he

[2] Not until October 15, 1817, after he had squatted on the land almost a year, did Thomas Lincoln make the formal entry at Vincennes. Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, I., p. 47.

ged back to Kentucky—walking all the way—for his
ily. Two horses brought them and all their effects to
Indiana shore. Posey kindly gave or hired them the
of a wagon, into which they packed not only their
iture and carpenter tools, but the liquor, which it is
umed had lain undisturbed in the former's cellar.
vly and carefully picking their way through the dense
ds, they at last reached their destination on the banks
Little Pigeon Creek. There were some detentions on
way, but no serious mishaps.

he head of the household now set resolutely to work
uild a shelter for his family.

he structure, when completed, was fourteen feet square,
was built of small unhewn logs. In the language of
day, it was called a "half-faced camp," being enclosed
ll sides but one. It had neither floor, door, nor win-
s. In this forbidding hovel these doughty emigrants
ed the exposure of the varying elements for an entire
. At the end of that time Thomas and Betsy Sparrow
wed, bringing with them Dennis Hanks; and to them
mas Lincoln surrendered the "half-faced camp," while
noved into a more pretentious structure—a cabin en-
ed on all sides. The country was thickly covered with
sts of walnut, beech, oak, elm, maple, and an under-
vth of dog-wood, sumac, and wild grapevine. In places
re the growth was not so thick grass came up abun-
ly, and hogs found plenty of food in the unlimited
ntity of mast the woods afforded. The country
nded in bear, deer, turkey, and other wild game,
ch not only satisfied the pioneer's love for sport, but
ished his table with its supply of meat.

'It was a wild region, with many bears and other wild
nals still in the woods," wrote Lincoln in the Fell auto-
raphy. More details are found in the sketch he fur-
ed John L. Scripps. "He (Thomas Lincoln) settled
n unbroken forest, and the clearing away of surplus
d was the great task ahead. Abraham, though very
ng, was large of his age, and had an ax put into his
ls at once; and from that till within his twenty-third

year he was almost constantly handling that most useful instrument—less, of course, in plowing and harvesting seasons."]

Thomas Lincoln, with the aid of the Hankses and Sparrows, was for a time an attentive farmer. The implements of agriculture then in use were as rude as they were rare and yet there is nothing to show that in spite of the slow methods then in vogue he did not make commendable speed. "We raised corn mostly"—relates Dennis—"and some wheat—enough for a cake Sunday morning. Hogs and venison hams were a legal tender, and coon skins also. We raised sheep and cattle, but they did not bring much. Cows and calves were only worth six to eight dollars; corn ten cents, and wheat twenty-five cents, a bushel." So with all his application and frugality the head of this ill-assorted household made but little headway in the accumulation of the world's goods. We are told that he was indeed a poor man, and that during his entire stay in Indiana his land barely yielded him sufficient return to keep his larder supplied with the most common necessities of life. His skill as a hunter—though never brought into play unless at the angered demand of a stomach hungry for meat—in no slight degree made up for the lack of good management in the cultivation of his land. His son Abraham never evinced the same fondness for hunting, although his cousin Dennis with much pride tells how he could kill a wild turkey on the wing. "At that time," relates one of the latter's playmates (David Turnham), descanting on the abundance of wild game, "there were a great many deer licks; and Abe and myself would go to these licks and watch of nights to kill deer, though Abe was not so fond of a gun or the sport as I was."

[Lincoln himself left an account of the wild turkey episode which so impressed Dennis Hanks. "Abraham took an early start as a hunter," he wrote, "which was never much improved afterward. A few days before the completion of his eighth year, in the absence of his father, a flock of wild turkeys approached the new log cabin, and Abraham with a rifle-gun, standing inside, shot through

k and killed one of them. He has never since pulled igger on any larger game."]

Ir. Lincoln used to relate the following "coon" story: father had at home a little yellow housedog, which riably gave the alarm if the boys undertook to slip y unobserved after night had set in—as they often-s did—to go coon hunting. One evening Abe and his brother, John Johnston, with the usual complement of s required in a successful coon hunt, took the insigni-nt little cur with them. They located the coveted coon, d him, and then in sportive vein sewed the hide on the inutive yellow dog. The latter struggled vigorously ng the operation of sewing on, and being released n the hands of his captors made a bee-line for home. er large and more important canines, on the way, ting coon, tracked the little animal home, and possibly aking him for real coon, speedily demolished him. next morning old Thomas discovered lying in his yard lifeless remains of yellow "Joe," with strong proof oon-skin accompaniment. "Father was much incensed is death," observed Mr. Lincoln, in relating the story, as John and I, scantily protected from the morning l, stood shivering in the doorway, we felt assured yellow Joe would never be able again to sound the for another coon hunt." [1]

he cabin to which the Lincoln family removed after ing the little half-faced camp to the Sparrows was in e respects a pretentious structure. It was of hewed , and was eighteen feet square. It was high enough dmit of a loft, where Abe slept, and to which he as-led each night by means of pegs driven in the wall. rude furniture was in keeping with the surroundings. ee-legged stools answered for chairs. The bedstead, e of poles fastened in the cracks on one side, and orted by a crotched stick driven in the ground on the r, was covered with skins, leaves, and old clothes. A of the same finish as the stools, a few pewter dishes, utch oven, and a skillet completed the household out-

[1] Original footnote.

fit. In this uninviting frontier structure the future Pres ident was destined to pass the greater part of his boyhood Withal his spirits were light, and it cannot be denie that he must have enjoyed unrestrained pleasure in hi surroundings. It is related that one day the only thin that graced the dinner-table was a dish of roasted pota toes. The elder Lincoln, true to the custom of the day returned thanks for the blessing. The boy, realizing th scant proportions of the meal, looked up into his father' face and irreverently observed, "Dad, I call these"— meaning the potatoes—"mighty poor blessings." Amon other children of a similar age he seemed unconsciousl to take the lead, and it is no stretch of the truth to sa that they, in turn, looked up to him. He may have bee a little precocious—children sometimes are—but in view o the summary treatment received at the hands of his fathe it cannot truthfully be said he was a "spoiled child." On morning when his mother was at work he ran into th cabin from the outside to inquire, with a quizzical gri "Who was the father of Zebedee's children?" As man another mother before and since has done, she brushe the mischievous young inquirer aside to attend to som more important detail of household concern.

Dennis Hanks testifies to the discipline which prevaile in the Lincoln household. "Abe was a good boy—an af fectionate one—a boy who loved his parents well and wa obedient to their every wish. Although anything but a impudent or rude boy he was sometimes uncomfortabl inquisitive. When strangers would ride along or pas by his father's fence he always—either through boyis pride or to tease his father—would be sure to ask the fir question. His father would sometimes knock him ove When thus punished he never bellowed, but dropped kind of silent, unwelcome tear as evidence of his sens tiveness or other feelings." [4]

The dull routine of chores and household errands the boy's every-day life was brightened now and then

[4] This quotation, originally a footnote, Herndon took fro a statement of Dennis Hanks dated June 13, 1865.

sit to the mill. I often in later years heard Mr. Lin- say that going to the mill gave him the greatest pleas- of his boyhood days.

We had to go seven miles to mill," relates David Turn-, the friend of his youth, "and then it was a hand- that would only grind from fifteen to twenty bushels orn in a day. There was but little wheat grown at time, and when we did have wheat we had to grind the mill described and use it without bolting, as there e no bolts in the country. Abe and I had to do the ng, frequently going twice to get one grist."

his eleventh year he began that marvelous and rapid vth in stature for which he was so widely noted in the on Creek settlement. "As he shot up," says Turnham, seemed to change in appearance and action. Although k-witted and ready with an answer, he began to ex- deep thoughtfulness, and was so often lost in studied ction we could not help noticing the strange turn in actions. He disclosed rare timidity and sensitiveness, cially in the presence of men and women, and although rful enough in the presence of the boys, he did not ar to seek our company as earnestly as before." It only the development we find in the history of every Nature was a little abrupt in the case of Abraham oln; she tossed him from the nimbleness of boyhood e gravity of manhood in a single night.

the fall of 1818, the scantily settled region in the ity of Pigeon Creek—where the Lincolns were then g—suffered a visitation of that dread disease common e West in early days, and known in the vernacular he frontier as "the milk-sick." It hovered like a re over the Pigeon Creek settlement for over ten s, and its fatal visitation and inroads among the Lin-, Hankses, and Sparrows finally drove that contin- into Illinois. To this day the medical profession has r agreed upon any definite cause for the malady, nor they in all their scientific wrangling determined ly what the disease itself is. A physician, who has in practice met a number of cases, describes the symp-

toms to be "a whitish coat on the tongue, burning sensa
tion of the stomach, severe vomiting, obstinate constipatio
of the bowels, coolness of the extremities, great restless
ness and jactitation, pulse rather small, somewhat mor
frequent than natural, and slightly chorded. In the cours
of the disease the coat on the tongue becomes brownis
and dark, the countenance dejected, and the prostratio
of the patient is great. A fatal termination may take plac
in sixty hours, or life may be prolonged for a period o
fourteen days. These are the symptoms of the disease i
an acute form. Sometimes it runs into the chronic form
or it may assume that form from the commencement, an
after months or years the patient may finally die or recove
only a partial degree of health."

When the disease broke out in the Pigeon Creek regio
it not only took off the people, but it made sad havoc amon
the cattle. One man testifies that he "lost four milch cow
and eleven calves in one week." This, in addition to th
risk of losing his own life, was enough, he declared, t
ruin him, and prompted him to leave for "points furthe
west."

Early in October of the year 1818, Thomas and Bets
Sparrow fell ill of the disease and died within a few day
of each other. Thomas Lincoln performed the servic
of undertaker. With his whipsaw he cut out the lumbe
and with commendable promptness he nailed together th
rude coffins to enclose the forms of the dead. The bodi
were borne to a scantily cleared knoll in the midst of th
forest, and there, without ceremony, quietly let down in
the grave. Meanwhile Abe's mother had also fallen
victim to the insidious disease. Her sufferings, howeve
were destined to be of brief duration. Within a wee
she too rested from her labors. "She struggled on, da
by day," says one of the household, "a good Christia
woman, and died on the seventh day after she was take
sick. Abe and his sister Sarah waited on their mother, a
did the little jobs and errands required of them. The
was no physician nearer than thirty-five miles. The moth
knew she was going to die, and called the children to h

ide. She was very weak, and the children leaned
· while she gave her last message. Placing her feeble
l on little Abe's head she told him to be kind and good
is father and sister; to both she said, 'Be good to one
her,' expressing a hope that they might live, as they
been taught by her, to love their kindred and worship
." Amid the miserable surroundings of a home in
wilderness Nancy Hanks passed across the dark river.
ugh of lowly birth, the victim of poverty and hard
e, she takes a place in history as the mother of a son
liberated a race of men. At her side stands another
her whose son performed a similar service for all
kind eighteen hundred years before.

fter the death of their mother little Abe and his sister
h began a dreary life—indeed, one more cheerless and
inviting seldom falls to the lot of any child. In a
abin without a floor, scantily protected from the se-
ies of the weather, deprived of the comfort of a
ner's love, they passed through a winter the most dis-
either one ever experienced. Within a few months,
before the close of the winter, David Elkin, an itiner-
preacher whom Mrs. Lincoln had known in Kentucky,
ened into the settlement, and in response to the invi-
n from the family and friends, delivered a funeral
ion over her grave. No one is able now to remember
anguage of Parson Elkin's discourse, but it is recalled
he commemorated the virtues and good phases of
acter, and passed in silence the few short-comings and
ties of the poor woman sleeping under the winter's
v. She had done her work in this world. Stoop-
ldered, thin-breasted, sad,—at times miserable,—
ing through the perplexities of life, without prospect
ny betterment in her condition, she passed from
, little dreaming of the grand future that lay in store
he ragged, hapless little boy who stood at her bedside
e last days of her life.

homas Lincoln's widowerhood was brief. He had
ely mourned the death of his first wife a year until
eappeared in Kentucky at Elizabethtown in search of

another. His admiration had centred for a second time on Sally Bush, the widow of Daniel Johnston, the jailer of Hardin County, who had died several years before of a disease known as the "cold plague." The tradition still kept alive in the Kentucky neighborhood is that Lincoln had been a suitor for the hand of the lady before his marriage to Nancy Hanks, but that she had rejected him for the hand of the more fortunate Johnston. However that may have been, it is certain that he began his campaign in earnest this time, and after a brief siege won her heart. "He made a very short courtship," wrote Samuel Haycraft to me in a letter, December 7, 1866. "He came to see her on the first day of December, 1819, and in a straightforward manner told her that they had known each other from childhood. '*Miss* Johnston,' said he, 'I have no wife and you no husband. I came a-purpose to marry you. I knowed you from a gal and you knowed me from a boy. I've no time to lose; and if you're willin' let it be done straight off.' She replied that she could not marry him right off, as she had some little debts which she wanted to pay first. He replied, 'Give me a list of them.' He got the list and paid them that evening. Next morning I issued the license, and they were married within sixty yards of my house."

Lincoln's brother-in-law, Ralph Krume, and his four horses and spacious wagon were again brought into requisition. With commendable generosity he transported the newly married pair and their household effects to their home in Indiana. The new Mrs. Lincoln was accompanied by her three children, John, Sarah, and Matilda. Her social status is fixed by the comparison of a neighbor, who observed that "life among the Hankses, the Lincolns, and the Enlows was a long ways below life among the Bushes."

In the eyes of her spouse she could not be regarded as a poor widow. She was the owner of a goodly stock of furniture and household goods; bringing with her among other things a walnut bureau valued at fifty dollars. What effect the new family, their collection of furniture, cooking

ensils, and comfortable bedding must have had on the tonished and motherless pair who from the door of homas Lincoln's forlorn cabin watched the well-filled agon as it came creaking through the woods can better imagined than described. Surely Sarah and Abe, as e stores of supplies were rolled in through the doorless orways, must have believed that a golden future awaited em. The presence and smile of a motherly face in the eerless cabin radiated sunshine into every neglected cor-r. If the Lincoln mansion did not in every respect cor-spond to the representations made by its owner to the w Mrs. Lincoln before marriage, the latter gave no ex-ession of disappointment or even surprise. With true omanly courage and zeal she set resolutely to work to ake right that which seemed wrong. Her husband was ade to put a floor in the cabin, as well as to supply doors d windows. The cracks between the logs were plas-ed up. A clothes-press filled the space between the imney jamb and the wall, and the mat of corn husks d leaves on which the children had slept in the corner ve way to the comfortable luxuriance of a feather bed. e washed the two orphans, and fitted them out in clothes ken from the stores of her own. The work of renova-n in and around the cabin continued until even Thomas ncoln himself, under the general stimulus of the new fe's presence, caught the inspiration, and developed signs intense activity. The advent of Sarah Bush was cer-nly a red-letter day for the Lincolns. She was not only lustrious and thrifty, but gentle and affectionate; and her wly adopted children for the first time, perhaps, realized e benign influence of a mother's love. Of young Abe e was especially fond, and we have her testimony that r kindness and care for him were warmly and bounti-lly returned. Her granddaughter (Harriet Chapman) rnished me in after years with this description of r:

'My grandmother is a very tall woman, straight as an dian, of fair complexion, and was, when I first remem-r her, very handsome, sprightly, talkative, and proud.

She wore her hair curled till gray; is kind-hearted and very charitable, and also very industrious." In September, 1865, I visited the old lady, and spent an entire day with her. She was then living on the farm her stepson had purchased and given her, eight miles south of the town of Charleston, in Illinois. She died on the 10th of April, 1869.

During my interview with this old lady I was much and deeply impressed with the sincerity of her affection for her illustrious stepson. She declined to say much in answer to my questions about Nancy Hanks, her predecessor in the Lincoln household, but spoke feelingly of the latter's daughter and son. Describing Mr. Lincoln's last visit to her in February, 1861, she broke into tears and wept bitterly. "I did not want Abe to run for President," she sobbed, "and I did not want to see him elected. I was afraid that something would happen to him, and when he came down to see me, after he was elected President, I still felt, and my heart told me, that something would befall Abe, and that I should never see him again. Abe and his father are in heaven now, I am sure, and I expect soon to go there and meet them." [5]

The two sets of children in the Lincoln household—to their credit be it said—lived together in perfect accord. Abe was in his tenth year, and his stepmother, awake to the importance of an education, made a way for him to attend school. To her he seemed full of promise; and although not so quick of comprehension as other boys, yet she believed in encouraging his every effort. He had had a few weeks of schooling under Riney and Hazel in Kentucky, but it is hardly probable that he could read; he certainly could not write. As illustrating his moral make-up, I diverge from the chronological order of the narrative long enough to relate an incident which occurred some years later. In the Lincoln family, Matilda Johnston or 'Tilda, as her mother called her, was the youngest child. After Abe had reached the estate of manhood, she was still in her 'teens. It was Abe's habit each morning one fall

[5] Original footnote.

leave the house early, his axe on his shoulder, to clear
iece of forest which lay some distance from home. He
equently carried his dinner with him, and remained all
y. Several times the young and frolicsome 'Tilda sought
accompany him, but was each time restrained by her
ther, who firmly forbade a repetition of the attempt.
ie morning the girl escaped maternal vigilance, and
ly followed after the young woodman, who had gone
ne distance from the house, and was already hidden from
w behind the dense growth of trees and underbrush.
llowing a deer-path, he went singing along, little dream-
of the girl in close pursuit. The latter gained on him,
d when within a few feet, darted forward and with a cat-
e leap landed squarely on his back. With one hand on
h shoulder, she planted her knee in the middle of his
k, and dexterously brought the powerful frame of the
l-splitter to the ground. It was a trick familiar to
ry schoolboy. Abe, taken by surprise, was unable at
st to turn around or learn who his assailant was. In
fall to the ground, the sharp edge of the axe imbedded
lf in the young lady's ankle, inflicting a wound from
ich there came a generous effusion of blood. With
ndry pieces of cloth torn from Abe's shirt and the
ng lady's dress, the flow of blood was staunched, and
wound rudely bound up. The girl's cries having les-
ed somewhat, her tall companion, looking at her in
nk astonishment, knowing what an infraction the whole
ng was of her mother's oft-repeated instructions, asked:
Tilda, what are you going to tell mother about getting
t?"

'Tell her I did it with the axe," she sobbed. "That will
the truth, won't it?" To which last inquiry Abe man-
ly responded,

'Yes, that's the truth, but it's not all the truth. Tell
whole truth, 'Tilda, and trust your good mother for
rest."

This incident was, many years afterward, related to me
'Tilda, who was then the mother of a devoted and in-
esting family herself.

Hazel Dorsey was Abe's first teacher in Indiana.[6] He held forth a mile and a half from the Lincoln farm. The schoolhouse was built of round logs, and was just high enough for a man to stand erect under the loft. The floor was of split logs, or what were called puncheons. The chimney was made of poles and clay; and the windows were made by cutting out parts of two logs, placing pieces of split boards a proper distance apart, and over the aperture thus formed pasting pieces of greased paper to admit light. At school Abe evinced ability enough to gain him a prominent place in the respect of the teacher and the affections of his fellow-scholars. "He always appeared to be very quiet during playtime;" E. R. Burba wrote in 1886, "never was rude; seemed to have a liking for solitude; was the one chosen in almost every case to adjust difficulties between boys of his age and size, and when appealed to, his decision was an end of the trouble. He was also rather noted for keeping his clothes clean longer than any of the others, and although considered a boy of courage, had few, if any, difficulties."[7] Elements of leadership in him seem to have manifested themselves already. Nathaniel Grigsby—whose brother, Aaron, afterwards married Abe's sister Sarah—attended the same school. He certifies to Abe's proficiency and worth in glowing terms.

"He was always at school early," writes Grigsby, "and attended to his studies. He was always at the head of his class, and passed us rapidly in his studies. He lost no time at home, and when he was not at work was at his book. He kept up his studies on Sunday, and carried his book with him to work, so that he might read when he rested from labor." Now and then, the family exchequer running low, it would be found necessary for the young rail-splitter to stop school, and either work with his father on the farm or render like service for the neighbors. These periods of work occurred so often and continued so long, that all his school days added together would not make a year

[6] Please see Lincoln's own statement on p. 34.

[7] Herndon used Burba's statement as a footnote.

e aggregate. When he attended school, his sister Sarah ually accompanied him. "Sally was a quick-minded ung woman," is the testimony of a schoolmate. "She as more industrious than Abe, in my opinion. I can hear r good-humored laugh now. Like her brother, she uld greet you kindly and put you at ease. She was really intelligent woman."

Abe's love for books, and his determined effort to ob- n an education in spite of so many obstacles, induced e belief in his father's mind, that book-learning was ab- rbing a greater proportion of his energy and industry an the demands of the farm. The old gentleman had t little faith in the value of books or papers, and hence e frequent drafts he made on the son to aid in the drudg- y of daily toil. He undertook to teach him his own de—he was a carpenter and joiner—but Abe manifested ch a striking want of interest that the effort to make a rpenter out of him was soon abandoned.

"I induced my husband to permit Abe to read and study home as well as at school," said Sarah Bush Lincoln 1865. "At first he was not easily reconciled to it, but ally he too seemed willing to encourage him to a certain tent. Abe was a dutiful son to me always, and we took rticular care when he was reading not to disturb him— uld let him read on and on till he quit of his own ac- d." [8]

At Dorsey's school Abe was ten years old; at the next e, Andrew Crawford's, he was about fourteen; and at aney's he was in his seventeenth year. The last school uired a walk of over four miles, and on account of the tance his attendance was not only irregular but brief. hoolmaster Crawford introduced a new feature in his ool, and we can imagine its effect on his pupils, whose ining had been limited to the social requirements of the kwoods settlement. It was instruction in manners. One olar was required to go outside, and reënter the room a lady or gentleman would enter a drawing-room or lor. Another scholar would receive the first party at

[8] Original footnote.

the door, and escort him or her about the room, making polite introductions to each person in the room. How the gaunt and clumsy Abe went through this performance we shall probably never know. If his awkward movements gave rise to any amusement, his schoolmates never revealed it.

The books used at school were Webster's Spelling Book and the American speller. All the scholars learned to cipher, and afterwards used Pike's Arithmetic. Mr. Lincoln told me in later years that Murray's English Reader was the best schoolbook ever put into the hands of an American youth. I conclude, therefore, he must have used that also. At Crawford's school Abe was credited with the authorship of several literary efforts—short dissertations in which he strove to correct some time-honored and wanton sport of the schoolboy. While in Indiana I met several persons who recalled a commendable and somewhat pretentious protest he wrote against cruelty to animals. The wholesome effects of a temperate life and the horrors of war were also subjects which claimed the services of his pen then, as they in later years demanded the devoted attention of his mind and heart.

[Recalling his school days, Lincoln said that he "went to A B C schools by littles, kept successively by Andrew Crawford,—Sweeney, and Azel W. Dorsey. He does not remember any other. . . . Abraham now thinks that the aggregate of all his schooling did not amount to one year." At another time he wrote of his youth in Indiana: "There were some schools, so called, but no qualification was ever required of a teacher beyond 'readin' writin', and cipherin' to the rule of three.' If a straggler supposed to understand Latin happened to sojourn in the neighborhood, he was looked upon as a wizard. There was absolutely nothing to excite ambition for education. Of course, when I came of age I did not know much. Still, somehow, I could read, write, and cipher to the rule of three, but that was all."]

He was now over six feet high and was growing at

mendous rate, for he added two inches more before the se of his seventeenth year, thus reaching the limit of his ture. He weighed in the region of a hundred and sixty unds; was wiry, vigorous, and strong. His feet and nds were large, arms and legs long and in striking con- st with his slender trunk and small head. "His skin s shriveled and yellow," declares Kate Gentry, one of girls who attended Crawford's school. "His shoes, en he had any, were low. He wore buckskin breeches, sey-woolsey shirt, and a cap made of the skin of a irrel or coon. His breeches were baggy and lacked by eral inches meeting the tops of his shoes, thereby ex- sing his shin-bone, 'sharp, blue, and narrow.' In one nch of school learning he was a great success; that was lling. We are indebted to Kate Roby, a pretty miss of teen, for an incident which illustrates alike his pro- ency in orthography and his natural inclination to help other out of the mire. The word "defied" had been en out by Schoolmaster Crawford, but had been mis- lled several times when it came Miss Roby's turn. be stood on the opposite side of the room" (related ss Roby to me in 1865) "and was watching me. I an d-e-f—and then I stopped, hesitating whether to ceed with an 'i' or a 'y'. Looking up I beheld Abe, a n covering his face, and pointing with his index finger his eye. I took the hint, spelled the word with an 'i,' l it went through all right." There was more or less an attachment between Miss Roby and Abe, although lady took pains to assure me that they were never in e. She described with self-evident pleasure, however, delightful experience of an evening's stroll down to river with him, where they were wont to sit on the k and watch the moon as it slowly rose over the neigh- ing hills. Dangling their youthful feet in the water, y gazed on the pale orb of night, as many a fond pair ore them had done and will continue to do until the l of the world. One evening, when thus engaged, their versation and thoughts turned on the movement of

the planets. "I did not suppose that Abe, who had see so little of the world, would know anything about it but he proved to my satisfaction that the moon did no go down at all; that it only seemed to; that the earth revolving from west to east, carried us under, as i were. 'We do the sinking,' he explained; 'while to u the moon is comparatively still. The moon's sinking i only an illusion.' I at once dubbed him a fool, but late developments convinced me that I was the fool, not he He was well acquainted with the general laws of astron omy and the movements of the heavenly bodies, but wher he could have learned so much, or how to put it so plainly I never could understand."

Absalom Roby is authority for the statement that eve at that early day Abe was a patient reader of a Louisvill newspaper, which some one at Gentryville kindly fur nished him. Among the books he read were the Bible *Æsop's Fables, Robinson Crusoe,* Bunyan's *Pilgrim' Progress,* a *History of the United States,* and Weems *Life of Washington.* A little circumstance attended th reading of the last-named book, which only within recen years found its way into public print. The book wa borrowed from a close-fisted neighbor, Josiah Craw ford, and one night, while lying on a little shelf nea a crack between two logs in the Lincoln cabin during storm, the covers were damaged by rain. Crawford— not the schoolmaster, but old Blue Nose, as Abe and oth ers called him—assessed the damage to his book at seventy five cents, and the unfortunate borrower was required t pull fodder for three days at twenty-five cents a day in se tlement of the account. While at school it is doubtful he was able to own an arithmetic. His stepmother wa unable to remember his ever having owned one. Sh gave me, however, a few leaves from a book made an bound by Abe, in which he had entered, in a large, bol hand, the tables of weights and measures, and the "sums to be worked out in illustration of each table. Where th arithmetic was obtained I could not learn. On one the pages which the old lady gave me, and just underneat

e table which tells how many pints there are in a bushel, e facetious young student had scrawled these four lines schoolboy doggerel:

"Abraham Lincoln,
His hand and pen,
He will be good,
But God knows when."

On another page were found, in his own hand, a few es which it is also said he composed. Nothing indicates at they were borrowed, and I have always, therefore, ieved that they were original with him. Although a le irregular in metre, the sentiment would, I think, do edit to an older head.

"Time, what an empty vapor 'tis,
And days how swift they are:
Swift as an Indian arrow—
Fly on like a shooting star.
The present moment just is here,
Then slides away in haste,
That we can never say they're ours,
But only say they're past."

His penmanship, after some practice, became so regular form that it excited the admiration of other and younger rs. One of the latter Joseph C. Richardson, said that be Lincoln was the best penman in the neighborhood." Richardson's request he made some copies for practice. ring my visit to Indiana I met Richardson, who showed se two lines, which Abe had prepared for him:

"Good boys who to their books apply
Will all be great men by and by."

To comprehend Mr. Lincoln fully we must know in sub- nce not only the facts of his origin, but also the manner his development. It will always be a matter of wonder the American people, I have no doubt—as it has been me—that from such restricted and unpromising oppor- ities in early life, Mr. Lincoln grew into the great n he was. The foundation for his education was laid in

Indiana and in the little town of New Salem in Illinois and in both places he gave evidence of a nature and char acteristics that distiguished him from every associate an surrounding he had. He was not peculiar or eccentric, an yet a shrewd observer would have seen that he was de cidedly unique and original. Although imbued with marked dislike for manual labor, it cannot be truthfull said of him that he was indolent. From a mental stand point he was one of the most energetic young men of hi day. He dwelt altogether in the land of thought. Hi deep meditation and abstraction easily induced the belie among his horny-handed companions that he was lazy. I fact, a neighbor, John Romine, makes that charge. "H worked for me," testifies the latter, "but was always read ing and thinking. I used to get mad at him for it. I sa he was awful lazy. He would laugh and talk—crack hi jokes and tell stories all the time; didn't love work half a much as his pay. He said to me one day that his fathe taught him to work; but he never taught him to love it. Verily there was but one Abraham Lincoln!

His chief delight during the day, if unmolested, was t lie down under the shade of some inviting tree to read an study. At night, lying on his stomach in front of the ope fireplace, with a piece of charcoal he would cipher on broad, wooden shovel. When the latter was covered o both sides he would take his father's drawing knife c plane and shave it off clean, ready for a fresh supply c inscriptions the next day. He often moved about th cabin with a piece of chalk, writing and ciphering o boards and the flat sides of hewn logs. When every ba wooden surface had been filled with his letters and ciphe he would erase them and begin anew. Thus it was always and the boy whom dull old Thomas Lincoln and rustic Joh Romine conceived to be lazy was in reality the most tir less worker in all the region around Gentryville. His ste mother told me he devoured everything in the book li within his reach. If in his reading he came across anythi that pleased his fancy, he entered it down in a copy-book- a sort of repository, in which he was wont to store ever

ing worthy of preservation. "Frequently," related his epmother, "he had no paper to write his pieces down on. nen he would put them with chalk on a board or plank, metimes only making a few signs of what he intended write. When he got paper he would copy them, al-ays bringing them to me and reading them. He would k my opinion of what he had read, and often explained ings to me in his plain and simple language." How he ntrived at the age of fourteen to absorb information is as told by John Hanks: "When Abe and I returned to e house from work he would go to the cupboard, snatch piece of corn bread, sit down, take a book, cock his legs as high as his head, and read. We grubbed, plowed, owed, and worked together barefooted in the field. When-er Abe had a chance in the field while at work, or at the use, he would stop and read." He kept the Bible and *sop's Fables* always within reach, and read them over d over again. These two volumes furnished him with e many figures of speech and parables which he used with ch happy effect in his later and public utterances.

Amid such restricted and unromantic environments the y developed into the man. The intellectual fire burned wly, but with a steady and intense glow. Although nied the requisite training of the schoolroom, he was ne the less competent to cope with those who had under-ne that discipline. No one had a more retentive memory. he read or heard a good thing it never escaped him. His wers of concentration were intense, and in the ability rough analysis to strip bare a proposition he was un-celled. His thoughtful and investigating mind dug down ter ideas, and never stopped till bottom facts were ached. With such a mental equipment the day was des-ed to come when the world would need the services of intellect and heart. That he was equal to the great sk when the demand came is but another striking proof the grandeur of his character.

CHAPTER THREE

THE FIRST LAW BOOK LINCOLN EVER READ WAS "THE Statutes of Indiana." He obtained the volume from his friend David Turnham, who testifies that he fairly devoured the book in his eager efforts to abstract the store of knowledge that lay between the lids. No doubt, as Turnham insists, the study of the statutes at this early day led Abe to think of the law as his calling in maturer years. At any rate he now began to evince no little zeal in the matter of public speaking—in compliance with the old notion, no doubt, that a lawyer can never succeed unless he has the elements of the orator or advocate in his construction—and even when at work in the field he could not resist the temptation to mount the nearest stump and practice on his fellow-laborers. The latter would flock around him, and active operations would cease whenever he began. A cluster of tall and stately trees often made him a most dignified and appreciative audience during the delivery of these maiden forensic efforts. He was old enough to attend musters, log-rollings, and horse-races, and was rapidly becoming a favored as well as favorite character. "The first time I ever remember of seeing Abe Lincoln," is the testimony of one of his neighbors (James Wood Lamar), "was when I was a small boy and had gone with my father to attend some kind of an election. One of our neighbors, James Larkins, was there. Larkins was a great hand to brag on anything he owned. This time it was his horse. He stepped up before Abe, who was in the crowd, and commenced talking to him, boasting all the while of his animal.

" 'I have got the best horse in the country'," he shouted

his young listener. "'I ran him three miles in exactly
ne minutes, and he never fetched a long breath.'"
"'I presume,' said Abe, rather dryly, 'he fetched a good
ny short ones though.'"

With all his peaceful propensities Abe was not averse to
ontest of strength, either for sport or in settlement—as
one memorable case—of grievances. Personal encoun-
s were of frequent occurrence in Gentryville in those
ys, and the prestige of having thrashed an opponent gave
victor marked social distinction. Green B. Taylor, with
om Abe worked the greater part of one winter on a
rm, furnished me with an account of the noted fight
tween John Johnston, Abe's step-brother, and William
igsby, in which stirring drama Abe himself played an
portant rôle before the curtain was rung down. Taylor's
ther was the second for Johnston, and William Whitten
iciated in a similar capacity for Grigsby. "They had a
rrible fight," relates Taylor, "and it soon became apparent
at Grigsby was too much for Lincoln's man, Johnston.
fter they had fought a long time without interference,
having been agreed not to break the ring, Abe burst
rough, caught Grigsby, threw him off and some feet
ay. There he stood, proud as Lucifer, and swinging a
ttle of liquor over his head swore he was 'the big buck
the lick.' 'If any one doubts it,' he shouted, 'he has
ly to come on and whet his horns.'" A general engage-
nt followed this challenge, but at the end of hostilities
field was cleared and the wounded retired amid the
ultant shouts of their victors.

Much of the latter end of Abe's boyhood would have
en lost in the midst of tradition but for the store of
ormation and recollections I was fortunate enough to
ure from an interesting old lady whom I met in In-
na in 1865. She was the wife of Josiah Crawford—
lue Nose," as Abe had named him—and possessed rare
omplishments for a woman reared in the backwoods of
liana. She was not only impressed with Abe's early
orts, but expressed great admiration for his sister Sarah,
om she often had with her at her own hospitable home

and whom she described as a modest, industrious, and sensible sister of a humorous and equally sensible brother. From Mrs. Crawford I obtained the few specimens of Abe's early literary efforts and much of the matter that follows in this chapter.

In one of her conversations with me Mrs. Crawford told me of the exhibitions with which at school they often entertained the few persons who attended the closing day. Sometimes, in warm weather, the scholars made a platform of clean boards covered overhead with green boughs. Generally, however, these exhibitions took place in the school-room. The exercises consisted of the varieties offered at this day at the average seminary or school—declamations and dialogues or debates. The declamations were obtained principally from a book called *The Kentucky Preceptor*, which volume Mrs. Crawford gave me as a souvenir of my visit. Lincoln had often used it himself, she said. The questions for discussion were characteristic of the day and age. The relative merits of the "Bee and the Ant," the difference in strength between "Wind and Water," taxed their knowledge of physical phenomena; and the all-important question "Which has the most right to complain, the Indian or the Negro?" called out their conceptions of a great moral or national wrong. In the discussion of all these grave subjects Lincoln took a deep interest.[1]

The introduction here of the literary feature as affording us a glimpse of Lincoln's boyhood days may to a certain extent grate harshly on over-refined ears; but still no apology is necessary, for, as intimated at the outset, I intend to keep close to Lincoln all the way through. Some writers would probably omit these songs and backwood recitals as savoring too strongly of the Bacchanalian nature, but that would be a narrow view to take of history. If we expect to know Lincoln thoroughly we must be prepared to take him as he really was.

In 1826 Abe's sister Sarah was married to Aaron Grigsby, and at the wedding the Lincoln family sang a song composed in honor of the event by Abe himself. It is

[1] Original footnote.

esome doggerel and full of painful rhymes. I reproduce here from the manuscript furnished me by Mrs. Crawrd. The author and composer called it "Adam and Eve's 'edding Song."

"When Adam was created
He dwelt in Eden's shade,
As Moses has recorded,
And soon a bride was made.

Ten thousand times ten thousand
Of creatures swarmed around
Before a bride was formed,
And yet no mate was found.

The Lord then was not willing
That man should be alone,
But caused a sleep upon him,
And from him took a bone.

And closed the flesh instead thereof,
And then he took the same
And of it made a woman,
And brought her to the man.

Then Adam he rejoiced
To see his loving bride
A part of his own body,
The product of his side.

The woman was not taken
From Adam's feet we see,
So he must not abuse her,
The meaning seems to be.

The woman was not taken
From Adam's head, we know,
To show she must not rule him—
'Tis evidently so.

The woman she was taken
From under Adam's arm,
So she must be protected
From injuries and harm."

Poor Sarah, at whose wedding this song was sung, never lived to see the glory nor share in the honor that afterwards fell to the lot of her tall and angular brother. Within two years after her marriage, she died in childbirth. Something in the conduct of the Grigsbys and their treatment of his sister gave Abe great offense, and for a long time the relations between him and them were much strained. The Grigsbys were the leading family in Gentryville, and consequently were of no little importance in a social way. Abe, on the contrary, had no reserve of family or social influence to draw upon. He was only awaiting an opportunity to "even up" the score between them. Neither his father nor any of the Hankses were of any avail, and he therefore for the first time resorted to the use of his pen for revenge. He wrote a number of pieces in which he took occasion to lampoon those who provoked in any way his especial displeasure. It was quite natural to conceive therefore that with the gift of satire at command he should not have permitted the Grigsbys to escape. These pieces were called "Chronicles," and although rude and coarse, they served the purpose designed by their author of bringing public ridicule down on the heads of his victims. They were written in an attempted scriptural vein, and on so many different subjects that one might consistently call them "social ventilators." Their grossness must have been warmly appreciated by the early denizens of Gentryville, for the descendants of the latter up to this day have taken care that they should not be buried from sight under the dust of long-continued forgetfulness. I reproduce here, exactly as I obtained it, the particular chapter of the "Chronicles" which reflected on the Grigsbys so severely, and which must serve as a sample of all the others.

The original chapter in Lincoln's handwriting came to light in a singular manner after having been hidden or lost for years. Shortly before my trip to Indiana in 1865 a carpenter in Gentryville was rebuilding a house belonging to one of the Grigsbys. While so engaged his son and assistant had climbed through the ceiling to the inner side

the roof to tear away some of the timbers, and there
und, tucked away under the end of a rafter, a bundle of
low and dust-covered papers. Carefully withdrawing
m from their hiding-place he opened and was slowly
ciphering them, when his father, struck by the boy's
ence, and hearing no evidence of work, inquired of him
at he was doing. "Reading a portion of the Scriptures
t haven't been revealed yet," was the response. He had
nd the "Chronicles of Reuben."[2]

Reuben and Charles Grigsby on the same day married
tsy Ray and Matilda Hawkins respectively. The day
llowing they with their brides returned to the Grigsby
nsion, where the father, Reuben Grigsby senior, gave
m a cordial welcome. Here an old-fashioned infare,
th feasting and dancing, and the still older fashion of
tting the bridal party to bed, took place. When the
itations to these festivities were issued Abe was left
t, and the slight led him to furnish an appreciative
cle in Gentryville with what he was pleased to term "The
rst Chronicles of Reuben."

Lincoln had shrewdly persuaded some one who was on
inside at the infare to slip upstairs while the feasting
s at its height and change the beds, which Mamma
igsby had carefully arranged in advance. The transpo-
ion of beds produced a comedy of errors which gave
ncoln as much satisfaction and joy as the Grigsby house-
ld embarrassment and chagrin.[3]

'Now there was a man," begins this memorable chapter
backwoods lore, "whose name was Reuben, and the same
s very great in substance; in horses and cattle and swine,
l a very great household. It came to pass when the sons
Reuben grew up that they were desirous of taking to
mselves wives, and being too well known as to honor
their own country they took a journey into a far
ntry and there procured for themselves wives. It came
pass also that when they were about to make the return
ne they sent a messenger before them to bear the tid-

[2] Original footnote.
[3] *Ibid.*

ings to their parents. These, inquiring of the messengers what time their sons and wives would come, made a great feast and called all their kinsmen and neighbors in and made great preparations. When the time drew nigh they sent out two men to meet the grooms and their brides with a trumpet to welcome them and to accompany them. When they came near unto the house of Reuben the father, the messenger came on before them and gave a shout, and the whole multitude ran out with shouts of joy and music, playing on all kinds of instruments. Some were playing on harps, some on viols, and some blowing on rams' horns. Some also were casting dust and ashes towards heaven, and chief among them all was Josiah, blowing his bugle and making sound so great the neighboring hills and valleys echoed with the resounding acclamation. When they had played and their harps had sounded till the grooms and brides approached the gates, Reuben the father met them and welcomed them to his house. The wedding feast being now ready they were all invited to sit down to eat, placing the bridegrooms and their wives at each end of the table. Waiters were then appointed to serve and wait on the guests. When all had eaten and were full and merry they went out again and played and sung till night, and when they had made an end of feasting and rejoicing the multitude dispersed, each going to his own home. The family then took seats with their waiters to converse while preparations were being made in an upper chamber for the brides and grooms to be conveyed to their beds. This being done the waiters took the two brides upstairs, placing one in a bed at the right hand of the stairs and the other on the left. The waiters came down, and Nancy the mother then gave directions to the waiters of the bridegrooms, and they took them upstairs but placed them in the wrong beds. The waiters then all came downstairs. But the mother being fearful of a mistake, made inquiry of the waiters and learning the true facts took the light and sprang upstairs. It came to pass she ran to one of the beds and exclaimed, 'O Lord, Reuben, you are in bed with the wron

ife.' The young men, both alarmed at this, sprang up
t of bed and ran with such violence against each other
ey came near knocking each other down. The tumult
ve evidence to those below that the mistake was certain.
t last they all came down and had a long conversation
out who made the mistake, but it could not be decided.
endeth the chapter."

The reader will readily discern that the waiters had been
refully drilled by Lincoln in advance for the parts they
ere to perform in this rather unique piece of backwoods
medy. He also improved the rare opportunity which
esented itself of caricaturing "Blue Nose" Crawford,
o had exacted of him such an extreme penalty for the
mage done to his Weems' *Life of Washington*. He is
sily identified as "Josiah blowing his bugle." The latter
as also the husband of my informant, Mrs. Elizabeth
awford.[4]

As the reader will naturally conclude, the revelation of
is additional chapter of the Scriptures stirred up the
cial lions of Gentryville to the fighting point. Nothing
t the blood of the author, who was endeavoring to escape
blic attention under the anonymous cloak, would satisfy
e vengeance of the Grigsbys and their friends. But
ile the latter were discussing the details of discovery and
nishment, the versatile young satirist was at work finish-
g up William, the remaining member of the Grigsby
mily, who had so far escaped the sting of his pen. The
es of rhyme in which William's weaknesses are handed
wn to posterity, Mrs. Crawford had often afterwards
ard Abe recite, but she was very reluctant from a feeling
modesty to furnish them to me. At last, through the
luence of her son, I overcame her scruples and obtained
e coveted verses. A glance at them will convince the
der that the people of a community who could tolerate
se lines would certainly not be surprised or offended at
thing that might be found in the "Chronicles."

[4] Original footnote.

"I will tell you a joke about Joel and Mary,
It is neither a joke nor a story,
For Reuben and Charles have married two girls,
But Billy has married a boy.
The girls he had tried on every side,
But none could he get to agree;
All was in vain, he went home again,
And since that he's married to Natty.

So Billy and Natty agreed very well,
And mamma's well pleased with the match.
The egg it is laid, but Natty's afraid
The shell is so soft it never will hatch,
But Betsy, she said, 'You cursed bald head,
My suitor you never can be,
Besides your ill shape proclaims you an ape,
And that never can answer for me.'"

That these burlesques and the publicity they attained aroused all the ire in the Grigsby family, and eventually made Abe the object on which their fury was spent is not surprising in the least. It has even been contended, and with some show of truth too, that the fight between John Johnston and William Grigsby was the outgrowth of these caricatures, and that Abe forebore measuring strength with Grigsby, who was considered his physical inferior, and selected Johnston to represent him and fight in his stead. These crude rhymes and awkward imitations of scriptural lore demonstrated that their author, if assailed, was merciless in satire. In after years Lincoln, when driven to do so, used this weapon of ridicule with telling effect. He knew its power, and on one occasion, in the rejoinder of a debate, drove his opponent in tears from the platform.

Although devoid of any natural ability as a singer Abe nevertheless made many efforts and had great appreciation of certain songs. In after years he told me he doubted if he really knew what the harmony of sound was. The songs in vogue then were principally of the sacred order. They were from Watts' and Dupuy's hymn-books. David Turnham furnished me with a list, marking as especial favorites the following: "Am I a Soldier of the Cross;" "How

dious and Tasteless the Hours;" "There is a Fountain led with Blood," and, "Alas, and did my Saviour ed?" One song pleased Abe not a little. "I used to g it for old Thomas Lincoln," relates Turnham, "at e's request. The old gentleman liked it and made me g it often. I can only remember one couplet:

"'There was a Romish lady
She was brought up in Popery.'"

Dennis Hanks insists that Abe used to try his hand l voice at "Poor old Ned," but never with any degree success. "Rich, racy verses" were sung by the big s in the country villages of that day with as keen a ish as they are today. There is no reason and less dence for the belief that Abe did not partake of this bidden fruit along with other boys of the same age l condition in life. Among what Dennis called "field ngs" are a few lines from this one:

"The turbaned Turk that scorns the world
And struts about with his whiskers curled,
For no other man but himself to see."

Of another ballad we have this couplet:

"Hail Columbia, happy land,
If you ain't drunk I will be damned."

We can imagine the merry Dennis, hilarious with the ilaration of deep potations at the village grocery, singing s "field song" as he and Abe wended their way home-rd. A stanza from a campaign song which Abe was he habit of rendering, according to Mrs. Crawford, at-s his earliest political predilections:

"Let auld acquaintance be forgot
And never brought to mind,
May Jackson be our president,
And Adams left behind."

A mournful and distressing ballad, "John Anderson's nentation," as rendered by Abe, was written out for me Mrs. Crawford, but the first lines,

"Oh, sinners, poor sinners, take warning by me,
The fruits of transgression behold now and see."

will suffice to indicate how mournful the rest of it was

The centre of wit and wisdom in the village of Gentryville was at the store. This place was in charge of one Jones, who soon after embarking in business seemed to take quite a fancy to Abe. He took the only newspaper—sent from Louisville—and at his place of business gathered Abe, Dennis Hanks, Baldwin, the blacksmith, and other kindred spirits to discuss such topics as are the exclusive property of the store lounger. Abe's original and ridiculous stories not only amused the crowd, but the display of his unique faculties made him many friends. One who saw him at this time says:

"Lincoln would frequently make political speeches to the boys; he was always calm, logical, and clear. His jokes and stories were so odd, original, and witty all the people in town would gather around him. He would keep them till midnight. Abe was a good talker, a good reasoner and a kind of newsboy." He attended all the trials before the "squire," as that important functionary was called, and frequently wandered off to Boonville, a town on the river, distant fifteen miles, and the county seat of Warrick County, to hear and see how the courts were conducted there. On one occasion, at the latter place, he remained during the trial of a murderer and attentively absorbed the proceedings. A lawyer named Breckenridge represented the defense, and his speech so pleased and thrilled his young listener that the latter could not refrain from approaching the eloquent advocate at the close of his address and congratulating him on his signal success. How Breckenridge accepted the felicitations of the awkward hapless youth we shall probably never know. The story is told that during Lincoln's term as President, he was favored one day at the White House with a visit by the same Breckenridge, then a resident of Texas, who had called to pay his respects. In a conversation about early days in Indiana, the President, recalling Breckenridge

rument in the murder trial, remarked, "If I could, as I n thought, have made as good a speech as that, my soul uld have been satisfied; for it was up to that time the t speech I had ever heard."

No feature of his backwoods life pleased Abe so well going to mill. It released him from a day's work in woods, besides affording him a much desired opportuy to watch the movement of the mill's primitive and nbersome machinery. It was on many of these trips t David Turnham accompanied him. In later years Mr. ıcoln related the following reminiscence of his expeıce as a miller in Indiana: One day, taking a bag of n, he mounted the old flea-bitten gray mare and rode urely to Gordon's mill. Arriving somewhat late, his n did not come till almost sundown. In obedience to custom requiring each man to furnish his own power hitched the old mare to the arm, and as the animal ved round, the machinery responded with equal speed. e was mounted on the arm, and at frequent intervals de use of his whip to urge the animal on to better ed. With a careless "Get up, you old hussy," he apd the lash at each revolution of the arm. In the midst he exclamation, or just as half of it had escaped through teeth, the old jade, resenting the continued use of the d, elevated her shoeless hoofs and striking the young ineer in the forehead, sent him sprawling to the earth. ller Gordon hurried in, picked up the bleeding, senseboy, whom he took for dead, and at once sent for his ner. Old Thomas Lincoln came—came as soon as emied listlessness could move—loaded the lifeless boy in agon and drove home. Abe lay unconscious all night, towards break of day the attendants noticed signs of rning consciousness. The blood beginning to flow norly, his tongue struggled to loosen itself, his frame ked for an instant, and he awoke, blurting out the rds "you old hussy," or the latter half of the sentence rrupted by the mare's heel at the mill.

Mr. Lincoln considered this one of the remarkable inents of his life. He often referred to it, and we had

many discussions in our law office over the psychologica phenomena involved in the operation. Without expressin my own views I may say that his idea was that the latte half of the expression, "Get up, you old hussy," was cu off by a suspension of the normal flow of his mental en ergy, and that as soon as life's forces returned he uncon sciously ended the sentence; or, as he in a plainer figur put it: "Just before I struck the old mare my will throug the mind had set the muscles of my tongue to utter th expression, and when her heels came in contact with m head the whole thing stopped half-cocked, as it were, an was only fired off when mental energy or force returned.

By the time he had reached his seventeenth year he ha attained the physical proportions of a full-grown man. H was employed to assist James Taylor in the managemen of a ferry-boat across the Ohio River near the mouth o Anderson's Creek, but was not allowed a man's wages fo the work. He received thirty-seven cents a day for wh he afterwards told me was the roughest work a youn man could be made to do. In the midst of whatever wor he was engaged on he still found time to utilize his pe He prepared a composition on the American Governmen calling attention to the necessity of preserving the Const tution and prepetuating the Union, which with characte istic modesty he turned over to his friend and patron, Wi liam Woods, for safe-keeping and perusal.

Through the instrumentality of Woods it attracted th attention of many persons, among them one Pitcher, lawyer at Rockport, who with faintly concealed enth siasm declared "the world couldn't beat it." An artic on Temperance was shown under similar circumstance Aaron Farmer, a Baptist preacher of local renown, and him furnished to an Ohio newspaper for publication. T thing, however, which gave him such prominence—a pro inence too which could have been attained in no oth way—was his remarkable physical strength, for he w becoming not only one of the longest, but one of t strongest men around Gentryville. He enjoyed the br distinction his exhibitions of strength gave him more th

admiration of his friends for his literary or forensic
rts. Some of the feats attributed to him almost sur-
belief. One witness declares he was equal to three
, having on a certain occasion carried a load of six
dred pounds. At another time he walked away with
ir of logs which three robust men were skeptical of
r ability to carry. "He could strike with a maul a
ier blow—could sink an axe deeper into wood than
man I ever saw," is the testimony of another witness.
hn Pitcher, who read Lincoln's composition on the
erican Government, is still living, at the age of ninety-
e, in Mount Vernon, Indiana. He says that young
coln often called at his office and borrowed books to
l at home during leisure hours. On one occasion he
ressed a desire to study law with Pitcher, but explained
his parents were so poor that he could not be spared
n the farm on which they lived. "He related to me in
office one day," says Pitcher, "an account of his pay-
t to Crawford of the damage done to the latter's book
Veems' *Life of Washington*. Lincoln said, 'You see,
n tall and long-armed, and I went to work in earnest.
the end of the two days there was not a corn-blade
on a stalk in the field. I wanted to pay full damage
all the wetting the book got, and I made a clean
ep.'"[5]

fter he had passed his nineteenth year and was near-
his majority he began to chafe and grow restless un-
the restraints of home rule. Seeing no prospect of
erment in his condition, so long as his fortune was in-
oven with that of his father, he at last endeavored
trike out into the broad world for himself. Having
t faith in the judgment and influence of his fast friend
od, he solicited from him a recommendation to the
ers of some one of the boats plying up and down the
r, hoping thereby to obtain employment more con-
al than the dull, fatiguing work of the farm. To this
ect the judicious Wood was much opposed, and there-
suggested to the would-be boatman the moral duty

[5] Original footnote.

that rested on him to remain with his father till the law released him from that obligation. With deep regret he retraced his steps to the paternal mansion, seriously determined not to evade the claim from which in a few weary months he would be finally released. Meanwhile occurred his first opportunity to see the world. In March 1828, James Gentry, for whom he had been at work, had fitted out a boat with a stock of grain and meat for a trading expedition to New Orleans, and placed his son Allen in charge of the cargo for the voyage. Abe's desire to make a river trip was at last satisfied, and he accompanied the proprietor's son, serving as "bow hand." His pay was eight dollars a month and board. In due course of time the navigators returned from their expedition with the evidence of profitable results to gladden the heart of the owner. The only occurrence of interest they could relate of the voyage was the encounter with a party of marauding negroes at the plantation of Madame Duchesne, a few miles below Baton Rouge. Abe and Gentry, having tied up for the night, were fast asleep on their boat when aroused by the arrival of a crowd of negroes bent on plunder. They set to work with clubs and not only drove off the intruders, but pursued them inland, then hastily returning to their quarters they cut loose their craft and floated down-stream till daylight.

Before passing on further it may not be amiss to glance for a moment at the social side of life as it existed in Gentryville in Abe's day. "We thought nothing," said an old lady whom I interviewed when in Indiana, "of going eight or ten miles to church. The ladies did not stop for the want of a shawl, cloak, or riding-dress in winter time, but would put on their husbands' old overcoats and wrap up their little ones and take one or two of them on their beasts. Their husbands would walk and thus they would go to church, frequently remaining till the second day before they returned home."

The old men starting from the fields and out of the woods would carry their guns on their shoulders and get also. They dressed in deer-skin pants, moccasins, and

rse hunting shirts—the latter usually fastened with a e or leather strap. Arriving at the house where serv- s were to be held they would recite to each other thrill- stories of their hunting exploits, and smoke their pipes h the old ladies. They were treated, and treated each er, with the utmost kindness. A bottle of liquor, a cher of water, sugar, and glasses were set out for them; o a basket of apples or turnips, with, now and then, a or cakes. Thus they regaled themselves till the preacher nd himself in a condition to begin. The latter, hav- also partaken freely of the refreshments provided, uld "take his stand, draw his coat, open his shirt col- , read his text, and preach and pound till the sweat, oduced alike by his exertions and the exhilerating ef- ts of the toddy, rolled from his face in great drops. aking hands and singing ended the service."

The houses were scattered far apart, but the people veled great distances to participate in the frolic and rse fun of a log-rolling and sometimes a wedding. less in mid-winter the young ladies carried their shoes heir hands, and only put them on when the scene of the tivities was reached. The ladies of maturer years nk whiskey toddy, while the men took the whiskey aight. They all danced merrily, many of them bare- ted, to the tune of a cracked fiddle the night through. e can imagine the gleeful and more hilarious swag- ing home at daybreak to the tune of Dennis Hanks' fes- e lines:

> "Hail Columbia, happy land,
> If you ain't drunk I will be damned."

Although gay, prosperous, and light-hearted, these ple were brimming over with superstition. It was at e their food and drink. They believed in the baneful uence of witches, pinned their faith to the curative ver of wizards in dealing with sick animals, and t the image of a witch with a silver ball to break the ll she was supposed to have over human beings. They lowed with religious minuteness the directions of the

water-wizard, with his magic divining rod, and the faith doctor who wrought miraculous cures by strange sounds and signals to some mysterious agency. The flight of a bird in at the window, the breath of a horse on a child's head, the crossing by a dog of a hunter's path, all betokened evil luck in store for some one. The moon exercised greater influence on the actions of the people and the growth of vegetation than the sun and all the planetary system combined. Fence rails could only be cut in the light of the moon, and potatoes planted in the dark of the moon. Trees and plants which bore their fruit above ground could be planted when the moon shone full. Soap could only be made in the light of the moon, and it must only be stirred in one way and by one person. There had the horror of Friday which with many exists to this day. Nothing was to be begun on that unlucky day, for if the rule were violated an endless train of disasters was sure to follow.

Surrounded by people who believed in these things, Lincoln grew to manhood. With them he walked, talked, and labored, and from them he also absorbed whatever of superstition showed itself in him thereafter. His early Baptist training made him a fatalist up to the day of his death, and, listening in boyish wonder to the legends of some toothless old dame led him to believe in the significance of dreams and visions. His surroundings helped to create that unique character which in the eyes of a great portion of the American people was only less curious and amusing than it was august and noble.

The winter of 1829 was marked by another visitation of that dreaded disease, "the milk-sick." It was making the usual ravages among the cattle. Human victims were falling before it every day, and it caused the usual stampede in southern Indiana. Dennis Hanks, discouraged at the prospect and grieving over the loss of his stock, proposed a move further westward. Returning emigrants had brought encouraging news of the newly developed state of Illinois. Vast stretches of rich alluvial lands were to be had there on the easiest of terms.

Besides this, Indiana no longer afforded any induce-
nts to the poor man. The proposition of Dennis met
h the general assent of the Lincoln family, and espe-
lly suited the roving and migratory spirit of Thomas
ncoln. He had been induced to leave Kentucky for the
s of Indiana by the same rosy and alluring reports.
had moved four times since his marriage and in point
worldly goods was not better off than when he started
life. His land groaned under the weight of a long
lected incumbrance[6] and, like many of his neighbors,
was ready for another change. Having disposed of his
d to James Gentry, and his grain and stock to young
vid Turnham, he loaded his household effects into a
gon drawn by two yoke of oxen, and in March, 1830,
rted for Illinois. The two daughters of Mrs. Lincoln
meanwhile married Dennis Hanks and Levi Hall, and
h these additions the party numbered thirteen in all.
e had just passed his twenty-first birthday.

The journey was a long and tedious one; the streams
re swollen and the roads were muddy almost to the point
impassability. The rude, heavy wagon, with its primi-
wheels, creaked and groaned as it crawled through the
ods and now and then stalled in the mud. Many were
delays, but none ever disturbed the equanimity of its
sengers. They were cheerful in the face of all adver-
, hopeful, and some of them determined; but none of
n more so than the tall, ungainly youth in buck-skin
eches and coon-skin cap who wielded the gad and
ed the patient oxen forward.

Mr. Lincoln once described this journey to me. He
the ground had not yet yielded up the frosts of win-
that during the day the roads would thaw out on the
face and at night freeze over again, thus making travel-
especially with oxen, painfully slow and tiresome.
ere were, of course, no bridges, and the party were

[6] Herndon is in error here. Thomas Lincoln had originally
red one hundred and sixty acres in Indiana, but he succeeded
aying for eighty acres only. The title to the eighty was
, however.

consequently driven to ford the streams, unless by a ci
cuitous route they could avoid them. In the latter part c
the day the latter were also frozen slightly, and the oxe
would break through a square yard of thin ice at ever
step. Among other things which the party brought wit
them was a pet dog, which trotted along after the wago
One day the little fellow fell behind and failed to catc
up till after they had crossed the stream. Missing hi
they looked back, and there, on the opposite bank, he stoo
whining and jumping about in great distress. The wat
was running over the broken edges of the ice, and th
poor animal was afraid to cross. It would not pay to tu
the oxen and wagon back and ford the stream again
order to recover a dog, and so the majority, in the
anxiety to move forward, decided to go on without hi
"But I could not endure the idea of abandoning even
dog," related Lincoln. "Pulling off shoes and socks
waded across the stream and triumphantly returned wi
the shivering animal under my arm. His frantic lea
of joy and other evidences of a dog's gratitude amply r
paid me for all the exposure I had undergone." [7]

As these humble emigrants entered the new State litt
did the curious people in the towns through which th
passed dream that the obscure and penniless driver wh
yelled commands to the oxen would yet become Chi
Magistrate of the greatest nation of modern times.

[7] Original footnote.

H A P T E R F O U R

ER A FORTNIGHT OF ROUGH AND FATIGUING TRAVEL THE
ny of Indiana emigrants reached a point in Illinois five
es north-west of the town of Decatur in Macon County.
n Hanks, son of that Joseph Hanks in whose shop at
zabethtown Thomas Lincoln had learned what he knew
the carpenter's art, met and sheltered them until they
e safely housed on a piece of land which he had
cted for them five miles further westward. He had
ceded them over a year, and had in the meantime hewed
a few timbers to be used in the construction of their
in. The place he had selected was on a bluff overlook-
the Sangamon River,—for these early settlers must
ays be in sight of a running stream,—well supplied
1 timber. It was a charming and picturesque site, and
hands set resolutely to work to prepare the new abode.
e felled the trees; one hewed the timbers for the cabin;
le another cleared the ground of its accumulated growth
underbrush. All was bustle and activity. Even old
mas Lincoln, infused with the spirit of the hour, was
rred to unwonted exertion. What part of the work fell
is lot our only chronicler, John Hanks, fails to note;
it is conjectured from the old gentleman's experience
ne art of building that his services corresponded to those
he more modern supervising architect. With the aid
he oxen and a plow John and Abe broke up fifteen
s of sod, and "Abe and myself," observes Hanks in
atter-of-fact way, "split rails enough to fence the place
As they swung their axes, or with wedge and maul
out the rails, how strange to them the thought would
e seemed that those self-same rails were destined to

make one of them immortal. If such a vision flashed be
fore the mind of either he made no sign of it, but each kep
steadily on in his simple, unromantic task.

Abe had now attained his majority and began to throw
from his shoulders the vexations of parental restraint. H
had done his duty to his father, and felt able to begin lif
on his own account. As he steps out into the broad an
inviting world we take him up for consideration as a man
At the same time we dispense with further notice of hi
father, Thomas Lincoln. In the son are we alone inter
ested. The remaining years of his life marked no chang
in the old gentleman's nature. He still listened to the glow
ing descriptions of prosperity in the adjoining countie
and before his death moved three times in search of bette
times and a healthy location. In 1851 we find him livin
on forty acres of land on Goose Nest prairie, in Col
County, Illinois. The land bore the usual incumbrance—
mortgage for two hundred dollars, which his son afte
wards paid. On the 17th of January, after suffering fo
many weeks from a disorder of the kidneys, he passe
away at the ripe old age—as his son tells us—of "seventy
three years and eleven days."

For a long time after beginning life on his own accou
Abe remained in sight of the parental abode. He worke
at odd jobs in the neighborhood, or wherever the deman
for his services called him. As late as 1831 he was st
in the same parts, and John Hanks is authority for t
statement that he "made three thousand rails for Maj
Warnick" walking daily three miles to his work. Durin
the intervals of leisure he read the few books obtainab
and continued the practice of extemporaneous speaking
the usual audience of undemonstrative stumps and voic
less trees. His first attempt at public speaking aft
landing in Illinois is thus described to me by John Hanl
whose language I incorporate: "After Abe got to Decatu
or rather to Macon County, a man by the name of Pos
came into our neighborhood and made a speech. It was
bad one, and I said Abe could beat it. I turned down
box and Abe made his speech. The other man was a c

ate—Abe wasn't. Abe beat him to death, his subject
ng the navigation of the Sangamon River. The man,
er Abe's speech was through, took him aside and asked
n where he had learned so much and how he could do
well. Abe replied, stating his manner and method of
ding, and what he had read. The man encouraged him
persevere."

For the first time we are now favored with the appear-
e on the scene of a very important personage—one
tined to exert no little influence in shaping Lincoln's
tunes. It is Denton Offut, a brisk and venturesome
iness man, whose operations extended up and down the
ngamon River for many miles. Having heard glowing
orts of John Hanks' successful experience as a boatman
Kentucky he had come down the river to engage the
er's services to take a boat-load of stock and provi-
ns to New Orleans. "He wanted me to go badly,"
erves Hanks, "but I waited awhile before answering. I
ted up Abe, and I introduced him and John Johnston,
step-brother, to Offut. After some talk we at last made
engagement with Offut at fifty cents a day and sixty
ars to make the trip to New Orleans. Abe and I came
n the Sangamon River in a canoe in March, 1831;
led at what is now called Jamestown, five miles east of
ingfield, then known as Judy's Ferry." Here Johnston
ed them, and, leaving their canoe in charge of one Uriah
nn, they walked to Springfield, where after some in-
y they found the genial and enterprising Offut regaling
self with the good cheer dispensed at "The Buckhorn"

This hostelry, kept by Andrew Elliot, was the leading
e of its kind in the then unpretentious village of
ingfield. The figure of a buck's head painted on a sign
nging in front of the house gave rise to its name. Offut
agreed with Hanks to have a boat ready for him and
wo companions at the mouth of Spring Creek on their
val, but too many deep potations with the new-comers
daily thronged about the "Buckhorn" had interfered
the execution of his plans, and the boat still re-
ned in the womb of the future. Offut met the three ex-

pectant navigators on their arrival, and deep were his r
grets over his failure to provide the boat. The intervie
resulted in the trio engaging to make the boat themselve
From what was known as "Congress land" they obtaine
an abundance of timber, and by the aid of the machinery
Kirkpatrick's mill they soon had the requisite material f
their vessel. While the work of construction was going
a shanty was built in which they were lodged. Lincoln w
elected cook, a distinction he never under-estimated for
moment. Within four weeks the boat was ready to launc
Offut was sent for, and was present when she slid in
the water. It was the occasion of much political chat a
buncombe, in which the Whig party and Jackson ali
were, strangely enough, lauded to the skies. It is diffic
to account for the unanimous approval of such striking
antagonistic ideas, unless it be admitted that Offut mu
have brought with him some substantial reminder of t
hospitality on draught at the "Buckhorn" inn. Many di
putes arose, we are told, in which Lincoln took part a
found a good field for practice and debate.

A traveling juggler halted long enough in Sangamo
town, where the boat was launched, to give an exhibiti
of his art and dexterity in the loft of Jacob Carma
house. In Lincoln's low-crowned, broad-brimmed hat t
magician cooked eggs. As explanatory of the delay
passing up his hat Lincoln drolly observed, "It was out
respect for the eggs, not care for my hat."

Having loaded the vessel with pork in barrels, co
and hogs, these sturdy boatmen swung out into the strea
On April 19 they reached the town of New Salem, a pl
destined to be an important spot in the career of Linco
There they met with their first serious delay. The b
stranded on Rutledge's mill-dam and hung helplessly ove
a day and a night. "We unloaded the boat," narrated
of the crew to explain how they obtained relief from th
embarrassing situation; "that is, we transferred the go
from our boat to a borrowed one. We then rolled
barrels forward; Lincoln bored a hole in the end [p
jecting] over the dam; the water which had leaked in

and we slid over." Offut was profoundly impressed
this exhibition of Lincoln's ingenuity. In his enthusi-
he declared to the crowd who covered the hill and who
been watching Lincoln's operation that he would build
eamboat to plow up and down the Sangamon, and that
coln should be her Captain. She would have rollers for
ls and dams, runners for ice, and with Lincoln in
ge, "By thunder, she'd have to go!"
fter release from their embarrassing, not to say peril-
position the boat and her crew floated away from
Salem and passed on to a point known as Blue Banks,
re as the historian of the voyage says: "We had to load
e hogs bought of Squire Godbey. We tried to drive
aboard, but could not. They would run back past
Lincoln then suggested that we sew their eyes shut.
lking to try it, we caught them, Abe holding their
ls and I their tails while Offut sewed up their eyes.
they wouldn't drive. At last, becoming tired, we
ied them to the boat. Abe received them and cut
their eyes, Johnston and I handing them to him."
r thus disposing of the hog problem they again swung
e and floated down-stream. From the Sangamon they
ed to the Illinois. At Beardstown their unique craft,
its "sails made of planks and cloth," excited the
sement and laughter of those who saw them from the
e. Once on the bosom of the broad Mississippi they
d past Alton, St. Louis, and Cairo in rapid succession,
up for a day at Memphis, and made brief stops at
sburg and Natchez. Early in May they reached New
ans, where they lingered a month, disposing of their
o and viewing the sights which the Crescent City
ded.
New Orleans, for the first time Lincoln beheld the
horrors of human slavery. He saw "negroes in
ns—whipped and scourged." Against this inhumanity
sense of right and justice rebelled, and his mind and
cience were awakened to a realization of what he had
heard and read. No doubt, as one of his compan-
has said, "Slavery ran the iron into him then and

there." One morning in their rambles over the city th trio passed a slave auction. A vigorous and comely mula to girl was being sold. She underwent a thorough exam nation at the hands of the bidders; they pinched her fles and made her trot up and down the room like a horse, show how she moved, and in order, as the auctioneer sai that "bidders might satisfy themselves" whether the artic they were offering to buy was sound or not. The who thing was so revolting that Lincoln moved away from th scene with a deep feeling of "unconquerable hate." Bi ding his companions follow him he said, "By God, boy let's get away from this. If ever I get a chance to hit th thing [meaning slavery], I'll hit it hard." This incide was furnished me in 1865, by John Hanks.[1] I have al heard Mr. Lincoln refer to it himself.

In June the entire party, including Offut, boarded steamboat going up the river. At St. Louis they disen barked, Offut remaining behind while Lincoln, Hanks, a Johnston started across Illinois on foot. At Edwardsvi they separated, Hanks going to Springfield, while Linco and his step-brother followed the road to Coles County, which point old Thomas Lincoln had meanwhile remove Here Abe did not tarry long, probably not over a mon but long enough to dispose most effectually of one Dan Needham, a famous wrestler who had challenged the turned boatman to a test of strength. The contest to place at a locality known as "Wabash Point." Abe thr his antagonist twice with comparative ease, and there demonstrated such marked strength and agility as to ren him forever popular with the boys of that neighborhood.

In August the waters of the Sangamon River wash Lincoln in to New Salem. This once sprightly and thr

[1] In one of his autobiographical statements Lincoln rema that John Hanks went no further than St. Louis on this t Nevertheless, it is likely that Lincoln witnessed some such sc as Hanks described. That he was greatly affected by it is v doubtful, since it was many years before he was to exhibit ticular concern over the slavery problem.

village is no longer in existence. Not a building, ely a stone, is left to mark the place where it once d. To reach it now the traveler must ascend a bluff ndred feet above the general level of the surrounding try. The brow of the ridge, two hundred and fifty broad where it overlooks the river, widens gradually extends westwardly to the forest and ultimately to d pastures. Skirting the base of the bluff is the gamon River, which, coming around a sudden bend the south-east, strikes the rocky hill and is turned ptly north. Here is an old mill, driven by water- er, and reaching across the river is the mill-dam on h Offut's vessel hung stranded in April, 1831. As the rolled her turbid waters over the dam, plunging them the whirl and eddy beneath, the roar of waters, like continuous, distant thunder, could be distinctly heard ugh the village day and night.

he country in almost every direction is diversified by nate stretches of hills and level lands, with streams een each struggling to reach the river. The hills are ded with timber—oak, hickory, walnut, ash, and elm. w them are stretches of rich alluvial bottom land, and eye ranges over a vast expanse of foliage, the monot- of which is relieved by the alternating swells and de- sions of the landscape. Between peak and peak, ugh its bed of limestone, sand, and clay, sometimes ng the feet of one bluff and then hugging the other, the Sangamon River. The village of New Salem, h once stood on the ridge, was laid out in 1828; it me a trading place, and in 1836 contained twenty es and a hundred inhabitants. In the days of land es and stage-coaches it was a sprightly village with a market. Its people were progressive and industrious. itious winds filled the sails of its commerce, pros- y smiled graciously on its every enterprise, and the de world encouraged its social pretensions. It had ay of glory, but, singularly enough, contemporaneous the departure of Lincoln from its midst it went into a

rapid decline. A few crumbling stones here and there ar all that attest its former existence.[2] "How it vanished, observes one writer, "like a mist in the morning, to wha distant places its inhabitants dispersed, and what becam of the abodes they left behind, shall be questions for th local historian."

Lincoln's return to New Salem in August, 1831, wa within a few days, contemporaneous with the reappearanc of Offut, who made the gratifying announcement that h had purchased a stock of goods which were to follow hi from Beardstown. He had again retained the services o Lincoln to assist him when his merchandise should come hand. The tall stranger—destined to be a stranger i New Salem no longer—pending the arrival of his em ployer's goods, lounged about the village with nothing do. Leisure never sat heavily on him. To him there wa nothing uncongenial in it, and he might very properly hav been dubbed at the time a "loafer." He assured those wi whom he came in contact that he was a piece of floatin driftwood; that after the winter of deep snow, he had com down the river with the freshet; borne along by the swel ing waters, and aimlessly floating about, he had accide tally lodged at New Salem. Looking back over his histo we are forced to conclude that Providence or chance, whatever power is responsible for it, could not have a signed him to a more favorable refuge.

His introduction to the citizens of New Salem, as Me tor Graham the schoolteacher tells us, was in the capaci of clerk of an election board. Graham furnishes amp testimony of the facility, fairness, and honesty which cha acterized the new clerk's work, and both teacher and cle were soon bound together by the warmest of ties. Duri the day, when votes were coming in slowly, Lincoln beg to entertain the crowd at the polls with a few attempts

[2] The site of the village of New Salem has been acquired the State of Illinois and made into a State Park. Several cab have been reconstructed, and the complete restoration of village is planned.

y-telling. My cousin, J. R. Herndon, was present and yed this feature of the election with the keenest relish. ıever forgot some of Lincoln's yarns and was fond of ating them in after years. The recital of a few stories Lincoln easily established him in the good graces of all Salem. Perhaps he did not know it at the time, ıe had used the weapon nearest at hand and had won. n the afternoon," my cousin relates, "as things were ging a little, Lincoln the new man, began to spin out ck of Indiana yarns. One that amused me more than other he called the lizard story. 'The meeting-house,' aid, 'was in the woods and quite a distance from any r house. It was only used once a month. The cher—an old line Baptist—was dressed in coarse linen aloons, and shirt of the same material. The pants, ufactured after the old fashion, with baggy legs and p in front, were made to attach to his frame without aid of suspenders. A single button held his shirt in ion, and that was at the collar. He rose up in the it and with a loud voice announced his text thus: 'I he Christ, whom I shall represent today.' About this a little blue lizard ran up underneath his baggy pan- ns. The old preacher, not wishing to interrupt the ly flow of his sermon, slapped away on his legs, expect- o arrest the intruder; but his efforts were unavailing, the little fellow kept on ascending higher and higher. inuing the sermon, the preacher slyly loosened the al button which graced the waist-band of his panta- s and with a kick off came that easy-fitting garment. meanwhile Mr. Lizard had passed the equatorial line aist-band and was calmly exploring that part of the cher's anatomy which lay underneath the back of his . Things were now growing interesting, but the ser- was still grinding on. The next movement on the cher's part was for the collar button, and with one p of his arm off came the tow linen shirt. The con- ation sat for an instant as if dazed; at length one ady in the rear of the room rose up and glancing at

the excited object in the pulpit, shouted at the top of h voice: 'If you represent Christ then I'm done with t Bible'."[8]

A few days after the election Lincoln found emplo ment with one Dr. Nelson, who after the style of dign taries of later days started with his family and effects his "private" conveyance—which in this instance was flat-boat—for Texas. Lincoln was hired to pilot the ve sel through to the Illinois River. Arriving at Beardsto the pilot was discharged, and returned on foot across t sand and hills to New Salem. In the meantime Offu long expected goods had arrived, and Lincoln was plac in charge. Offut relied in no slight degree on the busine capacity of his clerk. In his effusive way he praised hi beyond reason. He boasted of his skill as a business m and his wonderful intellectual acquirements. As for phy cal strength and fearlessness of danger, he challenged Ne Salem and the entire world to produce his equal. In kee ing with his widely known spirit of enterprise Offut rent the Rutledge and Cameron mill, which stood at the fo of the hill, and thus added another iron to keep compa with the half-dozen already in the fire. As a further t of his business ability Lincoln was placed in charge this also. William G. Greene was hired to assist hi and between the two a life-long friendship sprang They slept in the store, and so strong was the intima between them that "when one turned over the other h to do likewise." At the head of these varied enterpri was Offut, the most progressive man by all odds in village. He was certainly an odd character, if we acc the judgment of his contemporaries. By some he is gi the character of a clear-headed, brisk man of affairs. others he is variously described as "wild, noisy, and re less," or "windy, rattle-brained, unsteady, and impr dent." Despite the unenviable traits ascribed to him was good at heart and a generous friend of Lincoln. boast that the latter could outrun, whip, or throw d any man in Sangamon County was soon tested, as

[8] Original footnote.

presently see, for, as another has truthfully expressed
honors such as Offut accorded to Abe were to be won
re they were worn at New Salem." In the neighbor-
l of the village, or rather a few miles to the south-
, lay a strip of timber called Clary's Grove. The
who lived there were a terror to the entire region—
ingly a necessary product of frontier civilization.
were friendly and good-natured; they could trench
nd, dig a bog, build a house; they could pray and
, make a village or create a state. They would do
st anything for sport or fun, love or necessity. Though
and rough, though life's forces ran over the edge
ne bowl, foaming and sparkling in pure deviltry for
try's sake, yet place before them a poor man who
ed their aid, a lame or sick man, a defenceless woman,
dow, or an orphaned child, they melted into sympathy
charity at once. They gave all they had, and willingly
d or played cards for more. Though there never was
r the sun a more generous parcel of rowdies, a strang-
introduction was likely to be the most unpleasant part
s acquaintance with them. They conceded leadership
ne Jack Armstrong, a hardy, strong, and well-devel-
specimen of physical manhood, and under him they
in the habit of "cleaning out" New Salem whenever
rder went forth to do so. Offut and "Bill" Clary—
latter skeptical of Lincoln's strength and agility—
d a heated discussion in the store one day over the
clerk's ability to meet the tactics of Clary's Grove, by
of ten dollars that Jack Armstrong was, in the lan-
e of the day, "a better man than Lincoln." The
clerk strongly opposed this sort of an introduction,
fter much entreaty from Offut, at last consented to
his bow to the social lions of the town in this un-
way. He was now six feet four inches high, and
ned, as his friend and confidant, William Greene,
us with impressive precision, "two hundred and four-
pounds." The contest was to be a friendly one and
conducted. All New Salem adjourned to the scene
e wrestle. Money, whiskey, knives, and all manner

of property were staked on the result. It is unnecessar to go into the details of the encounter. Everyone know how it ended; how at last the tall and angular rail-splitte enraged at the suspicion of foul tactics, and profiting b his height and the length of his arms, fairly lifted the gre bully by the throat and shook him like a rag; how by th act he established himself solidly in the esteem of all Ne Salem, and secured the respectful admiration and frien ship of the very man whom he had so thoroughly va quished. From this time forward Jack Armstrong, h wife Hannah, and all the other Armstrongs, became h warm and trusted friends. None stood readier than th to rally to his support, none more willing to lend a hel ing hand. Lincoln appreciated their friendship and su port, and in after years proved his gratitude by savi one member of the family from the gallows.

Mr. Lincoln's remarkable strength resulted not so mu from muscular power as from the toughness of his sinew He could not only lift from the ground enormous weigh but could throw a cannon-ball or a maul farther th anyone else in New Salem. I heard him explain on how he was enabled thus to excel others. He did not a tribute it to a greater proportion of physical strength, b contended that because of the unusual length of his ar the ball or projectile had a greater swing and therefo acquired more force and momentum than in the han of an average man.[4]

The business done over Offut's counter gave his cle frequent intervals of rest, so that, if so inclined, an abu dance of time for study was always at his disposal. Li coln had long before realized the deficiencies of h education, and resolved, now that the conditions we favorable, to atone for early neglect by a course of stu Nothing was more apparent to him than his limited knov edge of language, and the proper way of expressing h ideas. Moreover, it may be said that he appreciated h inefficiency in a rhetorical sense, and therefore determin to overcome all these obstacles by mastering the intricac

[4] Original footnote.

grammatical construction. Acting on the advice of tor Graham he hunted up one Vaner, who was the ted owner of Kirkham's *Grammar,* and after a walk several miles returned to the store with the coveted me under his arm. With zealous perseverance he at applied himself to the book. Sometimes he would ch out at full length on the counter, his head propped on a stack of calico prints, studying it; or he would away to the shade of some inviting tree, and there d hours at a time in a determined effort to fix in his l the arbitrary rule that "adverbs qualify verbs, adves, and other adverbs." From the vapidity of gram- it was now and then a great relaxation to turn to more agreeable subject of mathematics; and he might n have been seen lying face downwards, stretched out six feet of grass, figuring out on scraps of paper e problem given for solution by a quizzical store ger, or endeavoring to prove that, "multiplying the minator of a fraction divides it, while dividing the minator multiplies it." Rather a poor prospect one rced to admit for a successful man of business.

t this point in my narrative I am pained to drop from ner notice our buoyant and effusive friend Offut. His ness ventures failing to yield the extensive returns he icted, and too many of his obligations maturing at same time, he was forced to pay the penalty of comial delinquency and went to the wall. He soon disared from the village, and the inhabitants thereof r knew whither he went. In the significant language incoln he "petered out." As late as 1873 I received ter from Dr. James Hall, a physician living at St. his, near Baltimore, Maryland, who, referring to the pearance of Offut, relates the following reminiscence: what consequence to know or learn more of Offut I ot imagine; but be assured he turned up after leaving Salem. On meeting the name it seemed familiar, could not locate him. Finally I fished up from memthat some twenty-five years ago one 'Denton Offut' ared in Baltimore, hailing from Kentucky, advertis-

ing himself in the city papers as a veterinary surgeon an horse tamer, professing to have a secret to whisper in th horse's ear, or a secret manner of whispering in his ea which he could communicate to others, and by whic the most refractory and vicious horse could be quieted an controlled. For this secret he charged five dollars, bin ing the recipient by oath not to divulge it. I know sever persons, young fancy horsemen, who paid for the tric Offut advertised himself not only through the press, bu by his strange attire. He appeared in the streets on hors back and on foot, in plain citizens' dress of black, but wit a broad sash across his right shoulder, of various colore ribbons, crossed on his left hip under a large rosette o the same material, the whole rendering his appearanc most ludicrously conspicuous. Having occasion to pu chase a horse I encountered him at several of our stabl and was strongly urged to avail myself of his secret. S much for Offut; but were he living in '61, I doubt n Mr. Lincoln would have heard of him."

The early spring of 1832 brought to Springfield an New Salem a most joyful announcement. It was the new of the coming of a steamboat down the Sangamon River- proof incontestable that the stream was navigable. Th enterprise was undertaken and carried through by Capta Vincent Bogue, of Springfield, who had gone to Cinci nati to procure a vessel and thus settle the much-moote question of the river's navigability. When, therefore, notified the people of his town that the steamboat *Tali man* would put out from Cincinnati for Springfield, w can well imagine what great excitement and unbounde enthusiasm followed the announcement. Springfield, Ne Salem, and all the other towns along the now interesti Sangamon were to be connected by water with the outsi world. Public meetings, with the accompaniment of lo subscription lists, were held; the merchants of Springfie advertised the arrival of goods "direct from the East p steamer *Talisman;*" the mails were promised as often once a week from the same direction; all the land adjoi ing each enterprising and aspiring village along the riv

s subdivided into town lots—in fact, the whole region an to feel the stimulating effects of what, in later days, uld have been called a "boom." I remember the oc- ion well, for two reasons. It was my first sight of a mboat, and also the first time I ever saw Mr. Lin- n—although I never became acquainted with him till second race for the Legislature in 1834. In response the suggestion of Captain Bogue, made from Cincin- i, a number of citizens—among the number Lincoln— gone down the river to Beardstown to meet the ves- as she emerged from the Illinois. These were armed h axes having long handles, to cut away, as Bogue had ommended, "branches of trees hanging over from the ks." After having passed New Salem, I and other s on horseback followed the boat, riding along the er's bank as far as Bogue's mill, where she tied up. ere we went aboard, and lost in boyish wonder, feasted eyes on the splendor of her interior decorations. The *gamon Journal* of that period contains numerous poet- efforts celebrating the *Talisman's* arrival. A few s under date of April 5, 1832, unsigned, but sup- ed to have been the product of a local poet—one phant—were sung to the tune of "Clar de Kitchen." annot refrain from inflicting a stanza or two of this on the reader:

"O, Captain Bogue he gave the load,
And Captain Bogue he showed the road;
And we came up with a right good will,
And tied our boat up to his mill.

Now we are up the Sangamo,
And here we'll have a grand hurra,
So fill your glasses to the brim,
Of whiskey, brandy, wine, and gin.

Illinois suckers, young and raw,
Were strung along the Sangamo,
To see a boat come up by steam
They surely thought it was a dream."

On its arrival at Springfield, or as near Springfield as the river ran, the crew of the boat were given a reception and dance in the courthouse. The cream of the town's society attended to pay their respects to the newly arrived guests. The captain in charge of the boat—not Captain Bogue, but a vainly dressed fellow from the East—was accompanied by a woman, more gaudily attired than himself, whom he introduced as his wife. Of course the most considerate attention was shown them both, until later in the evening, when it became apparent that the gallant officer and his fair partner had imbibed too freely—for in those days we had plenty of good cheer—and were becoming unpleasantly demonstrative in their actions. This breach of good manners openly offended the high-toned nature of Springfield's fair ladies; but not more than the lamentable fact, which they learned on the following day, that the captain's partner was not his wife at all, but a woman of doubtful reputation whom he had brought with him from some place further east.

[The effusion of another local rimester affords some idea of this social event:

> "There was a ball at night, I guess,
> For the ladies' sakes it couldn't be less—
> And twenty bachelors they say,
> Were strung in Hymen's noose that day.
> To such a height their courage went,
> So tired were they of Love's long lent!
> Great guns were fired, and small ones too,
> Believe me, prairie bard, 'tis true! . . . .
> Jabez's gude liquors went off slick,
> Some for the cash, but most on tick;
> The small beer poets made a show,
> And their small whistles loud did blow."]

But to return to the *Talisman*. That now interesting vessel lay for a week longer at Bogue's mill, when the receding waters admonished her officers that unless they purposed spending the remainder of the year there they must head her down-stream. In this emergency recourse was had to my cousin Rowan Herndon, who had had n

le experience as a boatman, and who recommended the ployment of Lincoln as a skilful assistant. These two nd navigators undertook therefore the contract of pilot- the vessel—which had now become elephantine in pro- tions—through the uncertain channel of the Sangamon the Illinois River. The average speed was four miles lay. At New Salem safe passage over the mill-dam s deemed impossible unless the same could be lowered or ortion removed. To this, Cameron and Rutledge, own- of the mill, entered their most strenuous protest. The t's officers responded that under the Federal Constitu- n and laws no one had the right to dam up or in any y obstruct a navigable stream, and they argued that, they had just demonstrated that the Sangamon was igable (?), they proposed to remove enough of the truction to let the boat through. Rowan Herndon, cribing it to me in 1865, said: "When we struck the n she hung. We then backed off and threw the anchor r. We tore away part of the dam and raising steam her over on the first trial." The entire proceeding red up no little feeling, in which the mill owners, boat cers, and passengers took part. The effect the return of the *Talisman* had on those who believed in the cessful navigation of the Sangamon is shrewdly indi- d by the pilot, who with laconic complacency adds: soon as she was over, the company that chartered her done with her." Lincoln and Herndon, in charge of vessel, piloted her through to Beardstown. There they e paid forty dollars each, according to contract, and ling adieu to the *Talisman's* officers and crew, set out foot for New Salem again. A few months later the *sman* caught fire at the wharf in St. Louis and went n flames. The experiment of establishing a steamboat to Springfield proved an unfortunate venture for its ector, Captain Bogue. Finding himself unable to t his rapidly maturing obligations, incurred in aid of enterprise, it is presumed that he left the country, the *Journal* of that period is filled with notices of at- ment proceedings brought by vigilant creditors who levied on his goods.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE DEPARTURE OF THE *Talisman* FOR DEEPER WATERS

the downfall of Denton Offut's varied enterprises and his disappearance from New Salem, followed in rapid succession, and before the spring of 1832 had merged into summer Lincoln found himself a piece of "floating driftwood" again. Where he might have lodged had not the Black Hawk war intervened can only be a matter of conjecture. A glance at this novel period in his life may not be out of keeping with the purpose of this book. The great Indian chief, Black Hawk, who on the 30th of June 1831, had entered into an agreement, having all the solemnity of a treaty, with Governor Reynolds and General Gaines that none of his tribe should ever cross the Mississippi "to their usual place of residence, nor any part of their old hunting grounds east of the Mississippi, without permission of the President of the United States or the governor of the State of Illinois," had openly broken the compact. On the 6th of April, 1832, he recrossed the Mississippi and marched up Rock River Valley, accompanied by about five hundred warriors on horseback while his women and children went up the river in canoes. The great chief was now sixty-seven years old, and believed that his plots were all ripe and his allies fast and true. Although warned by General Atkinson, then in command of Fort Armstrong, against this aggression, and or

[1] In violating the pledge of the previous year, Black Hawk and his braves were driven by fear of starvation. Their purpose was not to make war, but to join the Winnebagoes and raise enough corn to keep them through the next winter. Hostilities were precipitated by the white militiamen.

ed to return, he proudly refused, claiming that he had me to plant corn." On being informed of the move- it of Black Hawk Governor Reynolds called for a thou- d mounted volunteers to co-operate with the United tes forces under command of General Atkinson, and re the wily Indian back across the Mississippi. The onse to the governor's call was prompt and energetic. he company from Sangamon County Lincoln enlisted, now for the first time entered on the vicissitudinous dangerous life of a soldier. That he in fact regarded campaign after the Indians as a sort of holiday affair chicken-stealing expedition is clearly shown in a speech afterwards made in Congress in exposure of the mili- pretensions of General Cass. However, in grim, sol- ly severity he marched with the Sangamon County con- ent to Rushville, in Schuyler County, where, much to surprise, he was elected captain of the company over liam Kirkpatrick. A recital of the campaign that fol- ed, in the effort to drive the treacherous Indians back, description of the few engagements—none of which hed the dignity of a battle—which took place, have in vise been overlooked by the historians of Illinois and he Black Hawk war. With the exception of those gs which relate to Lincoln alone I presume it would be lless to attempt to add anything to what has so thor- ly and truthfully been told.

While at the rendezvous at Rushville and on the march he front Lincoln of course drilled his men, and gave n such meagre instruction in military tactics as he could art. Some of the most grotesque things he ever related e descriptions of these drills. In marching one morn- at the head of the company, who were following in of twenty abreast, it became necessary to pass through te much narrower than the lines. The captain could remember the proper command to turn the company *vise,* and the situation was becoming decidedly em- assing, when one of those thoughts born of the depths espair came to his rescue. Facing the lines he shouted: lt! This company will break ranks for two minutes

and form again on the other side of the gate." The manœuvre was successfully executed.[2]

On being elected captain, Lincoln replied in a brief response of modest and thankful acceptance. It was the first official trust ever turned over to his keeping, and he prized it and the distinction it gave him more than any which in after years fell to his lot. His company savored strongly of the Clary's Grove order, and though daring enough in the presence of danger, were difficult to bring down to the inflexibilities of military discipline. Each one seemed perfectly able and willing to care for himself, and while the captain's authority was respectfully observed, yet, as some have said, they were none the less a crowd of "generous ruffians." I heard Mr. Lincoln say once on the subject of his career as captain in this company and the discipline he exercised over his men, that to the first order given one of them he received the response, "Go to the devil, sir!" Notwithstanding the interchange of many such unsoldierlike civilities between the officer and his men, a strong bond of affection united them together, and if a contest had arisen over the conflict of orders between the United States authorities and those emanating from Captain Lincoln or some other Illinois officer—as at one time was threatened—we need not be told to which side the Sangamon County company to a man would have gone. A general order forbidding the discharge of firearms within fifty yards of the camp was disobeyed by Captain Lincoln himself. For this violation of rule he was placed under arrest and deprived of his sword for a day. But this and other punishments in no way humiliated him in the esteem of his men; if anything, they only clung the closer, and when Clary's Grove friendship asserted itself, it meant that firm and generous attachment found alone on the frontier—that bond, closer than the affinity of blood, which becomes stronger as danger approaches death.

A soldier of the Sangamon County company broke into the officers' quarters one night, and with the aid of a tomahawk and four buckets, obtained by stealth a good

[2] Original footnote.

pply of wines and liquors, which he generously distrib-
ed to his appreciative comrades. The next morning at
break, when the army began to move, the Sangamon
unty company, much to their captain's astonishment,
re unfit for the march. Their nocturnal expedition had
n too much for them, and one by one they fell by the
yside, until but a mere handful remained to keep step
h their gallant and astounded captain. Those who fell
ind gradually overcame the effects of their carousal,
were hard pressed to overtake the command, and it was
into the night when the last one straggled into camp.
e investigation which followed resulted only in the
tain suffering the punishment for the more guilty men.
r this infraction of military law he was put under
est and made to carry a wooden sword for two days,
d this too," as one of his company has since assured
, "although he was entirely blameless in the matter."

Among the few incidents of Lincoln's career in the
ck Hawk war that have found a place in history was
manly interference to protect an old Indian who
yed, hungry and helpless, into camp one day, and whom
soldiers were conspiring to kill on the ground that he
s a spy. A letter from General Cass, recommending
n for his past kind and faithful services to the whites,
ch the trembling old savage drew from beneath the
ds of his blanket failed in any degree to appease the
th of the men who confronted him. They had come
to fight the treacherous Indians, and here was one
o had the temerity even to steal into their camp. "Make
example of him," they exclaimed. "The letter is a
gery and he is a spy." They might have put their
ats into execution had not the tall form of their captain,
face "swarthy with resolution and rage," interposed
lf between them and their defenseless victim. Lin-
n's determined look and demand that "it must not be
e" were enough. They sullenly desisted, and the In-
n, unmolested, continued on his way.

Lincoln's famous wrestling match with the redoubtable
mpson, a soldier from Union County, who managed

to throw him twice in succession, caused no diminution in the admiration and pride his men felt in their captain's muscle and prowess. They declared that unfair advantage had been taken of their champion, that Thompson had been guilty of foul tactics, and that, in the language of the sporting arena, it was a "dog-fall." Lincoln's magnanimous action, however, in according his opponent credit for fair dealing in the face of the wide-spread and adverse criticism that prevailed, only strengthened him in the esteem of all.

William L. Wilson, a survivor of the war, in a letter under date of February 3, 1882, after detailing reminiscences of Stillman's defeat, says: "I have during that time had much fun with the afterwards President of the United States, Abraham Lincoln. I remember one time of wrestling with him, two best in three, and ditched him. He was not satisfied, and we tried it in a foot-race for a five-dollar bill. I won the money, and 'tis spent long ago. And many more reminiscences could I give, but am of the Quaker persuasion, and not much given to writing." [8]

At times the soldiers were hard pressed for food, but by a combination of ingenuity and labor in proportions known only to a volunteer soldier, they managed to avoid the unpleasant results of long-continued and unsatisfied hunger. "At an old Winnebago town called Turtle Village," narrates a member of the company, "after stretching our rations over nearly four days, one of our mess, an old acquaintance of Lincoln, G. B. Fanchier, shot a dove, and having a gill of flour left we made a gallon and a half of delicious soup in an old tin bucket that had been lost by Indians. This soup we divided among several messes that were hungrier than we were and our own mess, by pouring in each man's cup a portion of the esculent. Once more at another time, in the extreme northern part of Illinois we had been very hungry for two days, but suddenly came upon a new cabin at the edge of the prairie that the pioneer sovereign squatter family had vacated and 'skedaddled from for fear of losing their scalps. There were plenty of

[8] Original footnote.

ckens about the cabin, much hungrier than we ourselves re, if poverty is to test the matter, and the boys heard a ce saying 'Slay and eat.' They at once went to running, bbing, and shooting them as long as they could be found. nilst the killing was going on I climbed to the ridge-pole the smoke-house to see distinctly what I saw obscurely m the ground and behold! the cleanest, sweetest jole I r saw—alone, half hid by boards and ridge-pole, stuck no doubt for future use. By this time many of the ckens were on the fire, broiling, for want of grease or vy to fry them in. Some practical fellow proposed to ow in with the fowls enough bacon to convert broiling o frying; the proposition was adopted, and they were n fried. We began to eat the tough, dry chickens with rnating mouthfuls of the jole, when Lincoln came to the ast with the query, 'Eating chicken, boys?' 'Not much, ' I responded, for we had operated principally on the e, it being sweeter and more palatable than the chickens. is much like eating saddle-bags,' he responded; 'but I nk the stomach can accomplish much today; but what re you got there with the skeletons, George?' 'We did re a sweet jole of a hog, sir,' I answered, 'but you are rly too late for your share,' at the same time making m for him to approach the elm-bark dish. He ate the on a moment, then commenced dividing by mouthfuls he boys from other messes, who came to 'see what Abe s at,' and saying many quaint and funny things suited to time and the jole." The captain, it will be seen, by his eedom without familiarity" and his "courtesy without descension," was fast making inroads on the respect of rude but appreciative men. He was doubtless looking a g way ahead, when both their friendship and respect uld be of avail, for as the chronicler last quoted from tinues: "He was acquainted with everybody, and he determined, as he told me, to become a candidate for next Legislature. The mess immediately pitched on as our standard-bearer, and he accepted."

The term for which the volunteers had enlisted had now ired, and the majority, tiring of the service, the novelty

of which had worn off, and longing for the comforts and good cheer of their homes, refused either to re-enlist or render further service. They turned their faces homeward, each with his appetite for military glory well satiated. But the war was not over, and the mighty Black Hawk was still east of the Mississippi. A few remained and re-enlisted. Among them was Lincoln. This time, eschewing the responsibility of a captaincy, and to avoid the possible embarrassment of dragging about camp a wooden sword, he entered the company of Elijah Iles as a dignified private. It has pleased some of Mr. Lincoln's biographers to attribute this re-enlistment to pure patriotism on his part and a conscientious desire to serve his country. From the standpoint of sentiment that is a comfortable view to take of it; but I have strong reason to believe that Mr. Lincoln never entertained such serious notions of the campaign. In fact, I may say that my information comes from the best authority to be had in the matter—the soldier himself. Mr. Lincoln had no home; he had cut loose from his parents, from the Hankses and the Johnstons; he left behind him no anxious wife and children; and no chair before a warm fireplace remained vacant for him. "I was out of work," he said to me once, "and there being no danger of more fighting, I could do nothing better than enlist again."

[Iles' company was mustered in by a young lieutenant of the regular army, Robert Anderson. "It was made up of generals, colonels, captains, and distinguished men from the disbanded army," its captain later wrote. Attached to what was known as 'the spy battalion,' it was held in camp near the present city of Ottawa on the Illinois River while the other companies were sent out to scout the country.

While Lincoln and his fellow-volunteers were thus prosaically serving out their second term, word came that all communication with Galena had been cut off. Iles and his company were ordered there at once to reëstablish contact and locate the Indians if possible. They proceeded to the present site of Dixon, where they found Colonel Zachary Taylor in command. Continuing to Galena, they found the

abitants unharmed, though frightened. An uneventful urn trip consumed the balance of the time for which y had enlisted.

On June 16 Lincoln enlisted for the third time. His m of service was thirty days, and his rank a private in company of Captain Jacob M. Early. No fighting rked his third enlistment, although he saw the result of harp skirmish, and helped to bury five men whom the lians had scalped. "I remember just how those men ked as we rode up the little hill where their camp was," later said. "The red light of the morning sun was aming upon them as they lay heads towards us on the und. And every man had a round, red spot on top of head, about as big as a dollar where the redskins had en his scalp. It was frightful, but it was grotesque, and red sunlight seemed to paint everything all over. I re-mber that one man had on buckskin breeches."

On July 16, 1832, Lincoln was mustered out at Black ver, Wisconsin. His horse had been stolen, so he was mpelled to return on foot and by canoe.]

After his discharge from this last and brief period of vice, along with the remainder of the Sangamon County diers, he departed from the scenes of recent hostilities New Salem again. His soldier days had ended, and he urned now to enter upon a far different career. How-r much in later years he may have pretended to ridicule disasters of the Black Hawk war, or the part he took it, yet I believe he was rather proud of it after all. hen Congress, along in the fifties, granted him a land rrant he was greatly pleased. He located it on some d in Iowa, and declared to me one day that he would die zed of that land, and although the tract never yielded n anything, he never, so far as my knowledge extends ted with its ownership.[4]

[4] "Lincoln's land warrant under the Act of 1850, was No. 52076 forty acres, issued April 16, 1852. The land was located r 21, 1854, by Lincoln's attorney John P. Davies, at Dubuque, a, on the N. W. Quarter of S. W. Quarter of Sec. 20, Town-84 N. of Range 15 West. The patent to this tract, signed Franklin Pierce, was issued to Lincoln, June 1, 1855.
"The warrant under the Act of 1855 was No. 68645 for one

The return of the Black Hawk warriors to New Salem occurred in the month of August, but a short time before the general election. A new Legislature was to be chosen, and as Lincoln had declared to his comrades in the army he would, and in obedience to the effusive declaration of principles which he had issued over his signature in March, before he went to the war, he presented himself to the people of his newly adopted county as a candidate for the Legislature. It is not necessary to enter into an account of the political conditions in Illinois at that time, or the effect had on the same by those who had in charge the governmental machinery. Lincoln's course is all that interests us. Though he may not have distinctly avowed himself a Whig, yet, as one of his friends asserted, "he stood openly on Whig principles." He favored a national bank, a liberal system of internal improvements, and a high protective tariff. The handbill or circular alluded to announcing his candidacy was a sort of literary fulmination, but on account of its length I deem it unnecessary to insert the whole of it here. I have been told that it was prepared by Lincoln, but purged of its most glaring grammatical errors by James McNamar, who afterwards became Lincoln's rival in an important love affair.[5]

hundred and twenty acres issued April 22, 1856, and located by Lincoln himself at Springfield, Dec. 27, 1859, on the E. Half of the N. E. Quarter and N. W. Quarter of N. E. Quarter of Sec. 18, Township 84 N. of Range 39 W. The patents to these tracts, signed by James Buchanan, were issued to Lincoln Sept. 10, 1860, in the midst of his campaign for the Presidency, and they were sent to the Register of the Land Office at Springfield for delivery to Lincoln Oct. 30, a week before his election. Records Gen. Land Office, Interior Dept., Washington.

"Lincoln owned this Iowa land when he was assassinated; it descended to his heirs, and on March 22, 1892, was sold by Robert T. Lincoln, the only surviving heir, for $13,000, to Henry Edwards. Records Recorder's Office, Crawford County, Iowa." Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, I., p. 553n.

[5] In a letter dated May 5, 1866, McNamar wrote Herndon: "I corrected at his request some of the grammatical errors in his first address to the voters of Sangamon County, his principal hobby being the navigation of the Sangamon river."

The circular is dated March 9, 1832, and addressed to "People of Sangamon County." In it he takes up all leading questions of the day: railroads, river navigation, ernal improvements, and usury. He dwells particularly the matter of public education, alluding to it as the st important subject before the people. Realizing his n defects arising from a lack of school instruction he tends that every man and his children, however poor, uld be permitted to obtain at least a moderate educa-n, and thereby be enabled "to read the Scriptures and er works both of a moral and religious nature for them-ves." The closing paragraph was so constructed as to peal to the chivalrous sentiments of Clary's Grove. "I s born and have ever remained," he declares, "in the st humble walks of life. I have no wealthy or popular atives or friends to recommend me. My case is thrown clusively upon the independent voters of the county; and elected they will have conferred a favor upon me for ich I shall be unremitting in my labors to compensate. t if," he dryly concludes, "the good people in their sdom shall see fit to keep me in the background, I have en too familiar with disappointments to be very much grined."

The election being near at hand only a few days re-ined for his canvass. One who was with him at the e describing his appearance, says: "He wore a mixed ns coat, clawhammer style, short in the sleeves and bob—in fact it was so short in the tail he could not sit on flax and towlinen pantaloons, and a straw hat. I think wore a vest, but do not remember how it looked. He re pot-metal boots." His maiden effort on the stump s a speech on the occasion of a public sale at Pappsville, illage eleven miles west of Springfield. After the sale s over and speechmaking had begun, a fight—a "general t," as one of the bystanders relates—ensued, and Lin-n, noticing one of his friends about to succumb to the rgetic attack of an infuriated ruffian, interposed to pre-t it. He did so most effectually. Hastily descending m the rude platform he edged his way through the

crowd, and seizing the bully by the neck and seat of his trowsers, threw him by means of his strength and long arms, as one witness stoutly insists, "twelve feet away." Returning to the stand and throwing aside his hat he inaugurated his campaign with the following brief but juicy declaration:

"Fellow Citizens, I presume you all know who I am. I am humble Abraham Lincoln. I have been solicited by many friends to become a candidate for the Legislature. My politics are short and sweet, like the old woman's dance. I am in favor of a national bank. I am in favor of the internal improvement system and a high protective tariff. These are my sentiments and political principles. If elected I shall be thankful; if not it will be all the same."

I obtained this speech from A. Y. Ellis, who in 1865 wrote it out. Ellis was his friend and supporter, and took no little interest in his canvass. "I accompanied him," he relates, "on one of his electioneering trips to Island Grove, and he made a speech which pleased his party friends very well indeed, though some of the Jackson men tried to make sport of it. He told several anecdotes, and applied them, as I thought, very well. He also told the boys several stories which drew them after him. I remember them, but modesty and my veneration for his memory forbid me to relate them." His story-telling propensity, and the striking fitness of his yarns—many of them being of the bar-room order—in illustrating public questions, as we shall see further along in these chapters, was really one of the secrets of his popularity and strength.

[Stephen T. Logan first saw Lincoln when he came to Springfield to make a speech during this campaign. "He was a very tall and gawky and rough looking fellow then," he wrote, "his pantaloons didn't meet his shoes by six inches. But after he began speaking I became very much interested in him. He made a very sensible speech. It was the time when Benton was running his theory of a gold circulation. Lincoln was attacking Benton's theory and I thought did it very well. . . . The manner of Mr. Lincoln's speech then was very much the same as his speeches

fter life—that is the same peculiar characteristics were
arent then, though of course in after years he evinced
n more knowledge and experience. But he had then the
e novelty and the same peculiarity in presenting his
s. He had the same individuality that he kept through
iis life. . . . In the election of 1832 he made a very
siderable impression upon me as well as upon other
ple."]

he election, as he had predicted, resulted in his de-
—the only defeat, as he himself afterward stated, that
ver suffered at the hands of the people. But there was
defeat in it after all. Out of the eight unsuccessful
lidates he stood third from the head of the list, re-
ing 657 votes. Five others received less. The most
ifying feature of it all was the hearty support of his
hbors at New Salem. Of the entire 208 votes in the
inct he received every one save three.[e]

may not be amiss to explain the cause of this remark-
endorsement of Lincoln by the voters in New Salem.
rose chiefly from his advocacy of the improvement of
Sangamon River. He proposed the digging of a canal
w miles east of the point where the Sangamon enters
Illinois River, thereby giving the former two mouths.
, he explained to the farmers, would prevent the ac-
ulation of back-water and consequent overflow of
rich alluvial bottom lands in the spring. It would also
t the sickness and evil results of stagnant pools, which
ied in low places after the high waters receded. His
me—that is the name by which it would be known
y—commended itself to the judgment of his neigh-
, and the flattering vote he received shows how they
rsed it.

he unsuccessful result of the election did not dampen

[e] The figures given in this paragraph are not strictly accurate.
oln received 657 votes, but his vote ranked fourth among
of nine unsuccessful candidates. As to his strength in New
n, Lincoln himself said: "His own precinct, however, cast-
its votes 277 for and 7 against him—and that, too, while
as avowed Clay man, and the precinct the autumn afterward
g a majority of 115 to General Jackson over Mr. Clay."

his hopes nor sour his ambition. The extensive acquaint-
ance, the practice in public speaking, the confidence gained
with the people, together with what was augmented in
himself, made a surplus of capital on which he was free to
draw and of which he afterwards frequently availed him-
self. The election being over, however, he found himself
without money, though with a goodly supply of experience
drifting again. His political experience had forever
weaned him from the dull routine of common labor. Labor
afforded him no time for study and no incentive to prof-
itable reflection. What he seemed to want was some
lighter work, employment in a store or tavern where he
could meet the village celebrities, exchange views with
strangers, discuss politics, horse-races, cock-fights, and
narrate to listening loafers his striking and significant
stories. In the communties where he had lived, the village
storekeeper held undisturbed sway. He took the only
newspaper, owned the only collection of books and half the
property in the village; and in general was the social, and
oftentimes the political head of the community. Naturally
therefore the prominence the store gave the merchant at-
tracted Lincoln. But there seemed no favorable opening
for him—clerks in New Salem were not in demand just
then.

My cousins, Rowan and James Herndon, were at that
time operating a store, and tiring of their investment
and the confinement it necessitated, James sold his interest
to an idle, shiftless fellow named William Berry. Soon
after Rowan disposed of his to Lincoln. That the latter
who was without means and in search of work, could suc-
ceed to the ownership of even a half interest in a concern
where but a few days before he would in all probability
gladly have exchanged his services for his board, doubtless
seems strange to the average young business man of to-
day. I once asked Rowan Herndon what induced him to
make such liberal terms in dealing with Lincoln, whom he
had known for so short a time.

"I believed he was thoroughly honest," was the reply
"and that impression was so strong in me I accepted his

e in payment of the whole. He had no money, but I uld have advanced him still more had he asked for it." incoln and Berry had been installed in business but a rt time until one Reuben Radford, the proprietor of ther New Salem grocery, who, happening to incur the pleasure of the Clary's Grove boys, decided suddenly e morning, in the commercial language of later days, "retire from business." A visit by night of the Clary's ove contingent always hastened any man's retirement m business. The windows were driven in, and possion taken of the stock without either ceremony or intory. If, by break of day, the unfortunate proprietor nd any portion of his establishment standing where he t it the night before, he might count himself lucky. In dford's case, fearing "his bones might share the fate his windows," he disposed of his stock and good-will William Greene for a consideration of four hundred lars. The latter employed Lincoln to make an inventory the goods, and when completed, the new merchant, ing in it something of a speculation, offered Greene an vance of two hundred and fifty dollars on his investnt. The offer was accepted, and the stock and fixtures ssed into the ownership and control of the now enprising firm of Lincoln & Berry. They subsequently sorbed the remnant of a store belonging to one Rutledge, ich last transaction cleared the field of all competitors l left them in possession of the only mercantile concern New Salem.[7]

To effect these sales not a cent of money was required— buyer giving the seller his note and the latter assigning o someone else in another trade. Berry gave his note James Herndon, Lincoln his to Rowan Herndon, while ncoln & Berry as a firm, executed their obligation to eene, Radford, and Rutledge in succession. Surely ll Street at no time in its history has furnished a brace speculators who in so brief a period accomplished so ch and with so little money. A few weeks only were

[7] Lincoln and Berry never acquired the store of Hill and Namar at New Salem.

sufficient to render apparent Lincoln's ill adaptation to the requirements of a successful business career. Once installed behind the counter he gave himself up to reading and study, depending for the practical management of the business on his partner. A more unfortunate selection than Berry could not have been found; for, while Lincoln at one end of the store was dispensing political information, Berry at the other was disposing of the firm's liquors, being the best customer for that article of merchandise himself. To put it more plainly, Lincoln's application to Shakespeare and Burns was only equalled by Berry's attention to spigot and barrel. That the latter in the end succeeded in squandering a good portion of their joint assets, besides wrecking his own health, is not to be wondered at. By the spring of 1833 they, like their predecessors, were ready to retire. Two brothers named Trent coming along, they sold to them on the liberal terms then prevalent the business and the good-will; but before the latter's notes fell due, they in turn had failed and fled. The death of Berry following soon after, released him from the payment of any notes or debts, and thus Lincoln was left to meet the unhonored obligations of the ill-fated partnership, or avoid their payment by dividing the responsibility and pleading the failure of the business. That he assumed all the liability and set resolutely to work to pay everything, was strictly in keeping with his fine sense of honor and justice. He was a long time meeting these claims, even as late as 1848 sending to me from Washington portions of his salary as Congressman to be applied on the unpaid remnant of the Berry & Lincoln indebtedness—but in time he extinguished it all, even to the last penny.

Conscious of his many shortcomings as a merchant, and undaunted by the unfortunate complications from which he had just been released, Lincoln returned to his books. Rowan Herndon, with whom he had been living, having removed to the country, he became for the first time a sojourner at the tavern, as it was then called—a public house kept by Rutledge, Onstatt, and Alley in succession

was a small log house," he explained to me in later
rs, "covered with clapboards, and contained four
ms." It was second only in importance to the store,
there he had the opportunity of meeting passing strang-
—lawyers and others from the county seat, whom he
quently impressed with his knowledge as well as wit.
had, doubtless, long before determined to prepare
self for the law; in fact, had begun to read Blackstone
le in the store, and now went at it with renewed zeal.
borrowed law-books of his former comrade in the
ck Hawk war, John T. Stuart, who was practicing
in Springfield, frequently walking there to return one
borrow another. His determination to master any
ject he undertook and his application to study were of
most intense order. On the road to and from Spring-
d he would read and recite from the book he carried
n in his hand, and claimed to have mastered forty
es of Blackstone during the first day after his return
m Stuart's office. At New Salem he frequently sat
efooted under the shade of a tree near the store, poring
r a volume of Chitty or Blackstone, sometimes lying
his back, putting his feet up the tree, which provokes
of his biographers to denote the latter posture as one
ich might have been "unfavorable to mental application,
he case of a man with shorter extremities."

Lincoln himself ascribed his decision to study law to
art's influence. Writing of his defeat in 1832 he said,
e studied what he should do—thought of learning the
cksmith trade—thought of trying to study law—rather
ught he could not succeed at that without a better
cation." Makeshifts provided the means of livelihood
il 1834, when Lincoln was elected to the legislature.
ajor John T. Stuart, then in full practice of the law,
s also elected. During the canvass, in a private con-
sation he encouraged Abraham to study law. After
election he borrowed books of Stuart, took them home
h him, and went at it in good earnest. He studied
h nobody. He still mixed in the surveying to pay
rd and clothing bills. When the legislature met, the

law-books were dropped, but were taken up again at the end of the session."]

That Lincoln's attempt to make a lawyer of himself under such adverse and unpromising circumstances excited comment is not to be wondered at. Russell Godby, an old man who still survives, told me in 1865, that he had often employed Lincoln to do farm work for him, and was surprised to find him one day sitting barefoot on the summit of a woodpile and attentively reading a book. "This being an unusual thing for farm hands in that early day to do, I asked him," relates Godby, "what he was reading. 'I'm not reading,' he answered. 'I'm studying.' 'Studying what?' I enquired. 'Law, sir,' was the emphatic response. It was really too much for me, as I looked at him sitting there proud as Cicero. 'Great God Almighty!' I exclaimed, and passed on."

But Lincoln kept on at his studies. Wherever he was and whenever he could do so the book was brought into use. He carried it with him in his rambles through the woods and his walks to the river. When night came he read it by the aid of any friendly light he could find. Frequently he went down to the cooper's shop and kindled a fire out of the waste material lying about, and by the light afforded read until far into the night.

One of his companions at this time relates that, "while clerking in the store or serving as postmaster he would apply himself as opportunity offered to his studies, if it was but five minutes time—would open his book which he always kept at hand, study it, reciting to himself; then entertain the company present or wait on a customer without apparent annoyance from the interruption. Have frequently seen him reading while walking along the streets. Occasionally he would become absorbed with his book, would stop and stand for a few moments, then walk on or pass from one house to another or from one crowd or squad of men to another. He was apparently seeking amusement, and with his thoughtful face and ill-fitting clothes was the last man one would have singled out for a student. If the company he was in was unappreciative

heir conversation at all irksome, he would open his k and commune with it for a time, until a happy ght suggested itself and then the book would again rn to its wonted resting-place under his arm. He er appeared to be a hard student, as he seemed to mas- his studies with little effort, until he commenced the ly of the law. In that he became wholly engrossed, began for the first time to avoid the society of men, rder that he might have more time for study. He was what is usually termed a quick-minded man, although would usually arrive at his conclusions very readily. seemed invariably to reflect and deliberate, and never d from impulse so far as to force a wrong conclusion a subject of any moment."

t was not long until he was able to draw up deeds, con- ts, mortgages, and other legal papers for his neigh- s. He figured conspicuously as a pettifogger before justice of the peace, but regarding it merely as a kind preliminary practice, seldom made any charge for his vices. Meanwhile he was reading not only law books natural philosophy and other scientific subjects. He a careful and patient reader of newspapers, the *San- on Journal*—published at Springfield—*Louisville Jour- St. Louis Republican,* and *Cincinnati Gazette* being ally within his reach. He paid a less degree of atten- to historical works, although he read Rollin and Gib- while in business with Berry. He had a more pro- nced fondness for fictitious literature, and read with ent relish Mrs. Lee Hentz's novels, which were very ular books in that day, and which were kindly loaned his friend A. Y. Ellis. The latter was a prosperous shrewd young merchant who had come up from ingfield and taken quite a fancy to Lincoln. The two t together and Lincoln frequently assisted him in the e. He says that Lincoln was fond of short, spicy ies one and two columns long, and cites as specimens, usin Sally Dillard," "Becky William's Courtship," e Down-Easter and the Bull," and others, the very s suggesting the character of the productions. He re-

membered everything he read, and could afterwards without apparent difficulty relate it. In fact, Mr. Lincoln's fame as a story-teller spread far and wide. Men quoted his sayings, repeated his jokes, and in remote places he was known as a story-teller before he was heard of either as lawyer or politician.

It has been denied as often as charged that Lincoln narrated vulgar stories; but the truth is he loved a story however extravagant or vulgar, if it had a good point. If it was merely a ribald recital and had no sting in the end that is, if it exposed no weakness or pointed no moral he had no use for it either in conversation or public speech but if it had the neccessary ingredients of mirth and moral no one could use it with more telling effect. As a mimic he was unequalled, and with his characteristic gestures he built up a reputation for story-telling—although fully as many of his narratives were borrowed as original—which followed him through life. One who listened to his early stories in New Salem says: "His laugh was striking. Such awkward gestures belonged to no other man. They attracted universal attention, from the old sedate down to the schoolboy. Then in a few moments he was as calm and thoughtful as a judge on the bench, and as ready to give advice on the most important matters; fun and gravity grew on him alike."

Lincoln's lack of musical adaptation has deprived us of many a song. For a ballad or doggerel he sometimes had quite a liking. He could memorize or recite the lines but some one else had to do the singing. Listen to one in which he shows *"How St. Patrick Came to be Born on the 17th of March."* Who composed it or where Lincoln obtained it I have never been able to learn. Ellis says he often inflicted it on the crowds who collected in his store of winter evenings. Here it is:

"The first factional fight in old Ireland, they say,
Was all on account of Saint Patrick's birthday,
It was somewhere about midnight without any doubt,
And certain it is, it made a great rout.

On the eighth day of March, as some people say,
St. Patrick at midnight he first saw the day;
While others assert 'twas the ninth he was born—
'Twas all a mistake—between midnight and morn.

Some blamed the baby, some blamed the clock;
Some blamed the doctor, some the crowing cock.
With all these close questions sure no one could know,
Whether the babe was too fast or the clock was too slow.

Some fought for the eighth, for the ninth some would die;
He who wouldn't see right would have a black eye.
At length these two factions so positive grew,
They each had a birthday, and Pat he had two.

Till Father Mulcahay who showed them their sins,
He said none could have two birthdays but as twins.
'Now Boys, don't be fighting for the eight or the nine
Don't quarrel so always, now why not combine.'

Combine eight with nine. It is the mark;
Let that be the birthday. Amen! said the clerk.
So all got blind drunk, which completed their bliss,
And they've kept up the practice from that day to this."

s a salesman, Lincoln was lamentably deficient. He
too prone to lead off into a discussion of politics or
ality, leaving someone else to finish the trade which he
undertaken. One of his employers says: "He always
ked to wait on the ladies, preferring, he said, to wait
he men and boys. I also remember he used to sleep
he store counter when they had too much company at
tavern. He wore flax and towlinen pantaloons—I
ght about five inches too short in the legs—and fre-
ntly had but one suspender, no vest or coat. He wore
lico shirt, such as he had in the Black Hawk war;
se brogans, tan color; blue yarn socks and straw hat,
style, and without a band." His friend Ellis attributed
shyness in the presence of ladies to the consciousness
is awkward appearance and the unpretentious condi-
of his wearing apparel. It was more than likely due
ure bashfulness. "On one occasion," continues Ellis,

"while we boarded at the tavern, there came a family consisting of an old lady, her son, and three stylish daughters, from the State of Virginia, who stopped there for two or three weeks, and during their stay I do not remember of Mr. Lincoln's ever appearing at the same table with them."

As a society man, Lincoln was singularly deficient while he lived in New Salem, and even during the remainder of his life. He never indulged in gossip about the ladies, nor aided in the circulation of village scandal. For women he had a high regard, and I can testify that during my long acquaintaince with him his conversation was free from injurious comment in individual cases—freer from unpleasant allusions than that of most men. At one time Major Hill charged him with making defamatory remarks regarding his wife. Hill was insulting in his language to Lincoln who never lost his temper. When he saw a chance to edge a word in, Lincoln denied emphatically using the language or anything like that attributed to him. He entertained, he insisted, a high regard for Mrs. Hill, and the only thing he knew to her discredit was the fact that she was Major Hill's wife.

At this time in its brief history New Salem was what in the parlance of large cities would be called a fast place and it was difficult for a young man of ordinary moral courage to resist the temptations that beset him on every hand. It remains a matter of surprise that Lincoln was able to retain his popularity with the hosts of young men of his own age, and still not join them in their drinking bouts and carousals. "I am certain," contends one of his companions (A. Y. Ellis), "that he never drank any intoxicating liquors—he did not even in those days smoke or chew tobacco." In sports requiring either muscle or skill he took no little interest. He indulged in all the games of the day, even to a horse-race or cock-fight. At one eventful chicken fight, where a fee of twenty-five cents for the entrance of each fowl was assessed, one Bap. McNabb brought a little red rooster, whose fighting qualities had been well advertised for days in advance by his owner

ch interest was naturally taken in the contest. As the come of these contests was generally a quarrel, in which n man, charging foul play, seized his victim, they chose coln umpire, relying not only on his fairness but his ity to enforce his decisions. In relating what followed nnot improve on the description furnished me in Feb- ry, 1865, by Ellis, who was present.

They formed a ring, and the time having arrived, coln, with one hand on each hip and in a squatting tion, cried, 'Ready.' Into the ring they toss their ls, Bap.'s red rooster along with the rest. But no ner had the little beauty discovered what was to be e than he dropped his tail and ran. The crowd cheered, le Bap. in disappointment picked him up and started y, losing his quarter and carrying home his dishonored l. Once arrived at the latter place he threw his pet n with a feeling of indignation and chagrin. The e fellow, out of sight of all rivals, mounted a wood and proudly flirting out his feathers, crowed with all might. Bap. looked on in disgust. 'Yes, you little s,' he exclaimed, irreverently, 'you're great on dress ade, but not worth a d—n in a fight'." It is said— truthfully I do not know—that at some period during late war Mr. Lincoln in conversation with a friend ned McClellan to Bap. McNabb's rooster. So much New Salem sports.

While wooing that jealous-eyed mistress, the law, Lin- was earning no money. As another has said, "he had nning board bill to pay, and nothing to pay it with." dint of sundry jobs here and there, helping Ellis in his e today, splitting rails for James Short tomorrow, he naged to keep his head above the waves. His friends e firm—no young man ever had truer or better ones— he was of too independent a turn to appeal to them complain of his condition. He never at any time aban- ed the idea of becoming a lawyer. That was always a it which beckoned him on in the darkest hour of his ersity. Someone, probably a Democrat who voted for in the preceding fall, recommended him to John Cal-

houn, then surveyor of the county, as suitable material for an assistant. This office, in view of the prevailing speculation in lands and town lots, was the most important and possibly the most profitable in the county. Calhoun, the incumbent, was a Yankee and a typical gentleman. He was brave, intellectual, self-possessed, and cultivated. He had been educated for the law, but never practiced much after coming to Illinois—taught school in preference. As an instructor he was the popular one of his day and age. I attended the school he taught when I was a boy, in Springfield, and was in later years clerk of the city under his administration as Mayor. Lincoln, I know, respected and admired him. After Lincoln's removal to Springfield they frequently held joint debates on political questions. At one time I remember they discussed the tariff question in the court house, using up the better part of two evenings in the contest. Calhoun was polite, affable, and an honest debater, never dodging any question. This made him a formidable antagonist in argumentative controversy. I have heard Lincoln say that Calhoun gave him more trouble in his debates than Douglas ever did, because he was more captivating in his manner and a more learned man than Douglas.

But to resume. The recommendation of Lincoln's friends was sufficient to induce Calhoun to appoint him one of his deputies. At the time he received notice of his selection by Calhoun, Lincoln was out in the woods near New Salem splitting rails. A friend named Pollard Simmons, who still survives and has related the incident to me, walked out to the point where he was working with the cheering news. Lincoln, being a Whig and knowing Calhoun's pronounced Democratic tendencies, inquired if he had to sacrifice any principle in accepting the position. "If I can be perfectly free in my political action I will take the office," he remarked; "but if my sentiments or even expression of them is to be abridged in any way I would not have it or any other office." A young man hampered by poverty as Lincoln was at this time, who had the courage to deal with public office as he did, was certainly mad

unalloyed material. No wonder in after years when he s defeated by Douglas he could inspire his friends by admonition not to "give up after one nor one hun-d defeats."

After taking service with Calhoun, Lincoln found he l but little if any practical knowledge of surveying—that had to be learned. Calhoun furnished him with ks, directing him to study them till he felt competent egin work. He again invoked the assistance of Mentor ham, the schoolmaster, who aided him in his efforts at ulating the results of surveys and measurements. coln was not a mathematician by nature, and hence, h him, learning meant labor. Graham's daughter is hority for the statement that her father and Lincoln quently sat up till midnight engrossed in calculations, only ceased when her mother drove them out after a sh supply of wood for the fire. Meanwhile Lincoln was ping up his law studies. "He studied to see the subject-ter clearly," says Graham, "and to express it truly and ngly. I have known him to study for hours the best of three to express an idea." He was so studious and orbed in his application at one time, that his friends, ording to a statement made by one of them (Henry Henry), "noticed that he was so emaciated we feared might bring on mental derangement." It was not long, vever, until he had mastered surveying as a study, and n he was sent out to work by his superior—Calhoun. has never been denied that his surveys were exact and t, and he was so manifestly fair that he was often sen to settle disputed questions of corners and meas-ments. It is worthy of note here that, with all his wledge of lands and their value and the opportunities t lay open to him for profitable and safe investments, never made use of the information thus obtained from cial sources, nor made a single speculation on his own unt.[8] The high value he placed on public office was

[8] In 1836 Lincoln had acquired three pieces of property: a 47 tract on the north bank of the Sangamon River in what then the northern part of Sangamon County, and two Spring-

more fully emphasized when as President, in answer to a delegation of gentlemen who called to press the claims of one of his warm personal friends for an important office, he declined on the ground that "he did not regard it as just to the public to pay the debts of personal friendship with offices that belonged to the people."

As surveyor under Calhoun he was sent for at one time to decide or locate a disputed corner for some persons in the northern part of the county. Among others interested was his friend and admirer Henry McHenry. "After a good deal of disputing we agreed," says the latter, "to send for Lincoln and to abide by his decision. He came with compass, flag-staff, and chain. He stopped with me three or four days and surveyed the whole section. When in the neighborhood of the disputed corner by actual survey he called for his staff and driving it in the ground at a certain spot said, 'Gentlemen, here is the corner.' We dug down into the ground at the point indicated and, lo! there we found about six or eight inches of the original stake sharpened at the end, and beneath which was the usual piece of charcoal placed there by Rector the surveyor who laid the ground off for the government many years before." So fairly and well had the young surveyor done his duty that all parties went away completely satisfied. As late as 1865 the corner was preserved by a mark and pointed out to strangers as an evidence of the young surveyor's skill. Russell Godby, mentioned in the earlier pages of this chapter, presented to me a certificate of survey given to him by Lincoln. It was written January 14, 1834, and is signed "J. Calhoun, S. S. C., by A. Lincoln." "The survey was made by Lincoln," says Godby, "and I gave him as pay for his work two buckskins, which Hannah

field town lots. In the spring of 1837 he sold one of the town lots for $75.00—he had paid $50.00 for both of them—and it is likely that he sold the second at about the same time, though the sale was not recorded. On May 9, 1837, he gave a quit-claim deed to the 47 acre tract for a consideration of $30.00. For a complete summary of Lincoln's land holdings and investments see *Bulletins 16* and *17*, The Abraham Lincoln Association.

rmstrong 'foxed' on his pants so that the briers would t wear them out."

Honors were now crowding thick and fast upon him. n May 7, 1833, he was commissioned postmaster at New lem, the first office he ever held under the Federal vernment. The salary was proportionate to the amount business done. Whether Lincoln solicited the appoint- nt himself, or whether it was given him without the king, I do not know; but certain it is his "administra- n" gave general satisfaction. The mail arrived once a ek, and we can imagine the extent of time and labor uired to distribute it, when it is known that "he carried office around in his hat." Mr. Lincoln used to tell me t when he had a call to go to the country to survey iece of land, he placed inside his hat all the letters be- ging to people in the neighborhood and distributed them ng the way. He made head-quarters in Samuel Hill's re, and there the office may be said to have been located, Hill himself had been postmaster before Lincoln. Be- een the revenue derived from the post-office and his come from land surveys Lincoln was, in the expressive guage of the day, "getting along well enough." Sud- nly, however, smooth sailing ceased and all his prospects easy times ahead were again brought to naught. One n Bergen brought suit against him and obtained judg- nt on one of the notes given in payment of the store ot—a relic of the unfortunate partnership with Berry. s personal effects were levied on and sold, his horse and rveying instruments going with the rest. But again a end, one James Short, whose favor he had gained, inter- ed; bought in the property and restored it to the hope- s young surveyor. It will be seen now what kind of ends Lincoln was gaining. The bonds he was thus king were destined to stand the severest of tests. His e never became so desperate but a friend came out of darkness to relieve him.

There was always something about Lincoln in his earlier rs to encourage his friends. He was not only grateful for

whatever aid was given him, but he always longed to help someone else. He had an unfailing disposition to succor the weak and the unfortunate, and always, in his sympathy, struggling with the under dog in the fight. He was once overtaken when about fourteen miles from Springfield by one Chandler, whom he knew slightly, and who, having already driven twenty miles, was hastening to reach the land office before a certain other man who had gone by a different road. Chandler explained to Lincoln that he was poor and wanted to enter a small tract of land which adjoined his, that another man of considerable wealth had also determined to have it, and had mounted his horse and started for Springfield. "Meanwhile, my neighbors," continued Chandler, "collected and advanced me the necessary one hundred dollars, and now, if I can reach the land office first, I can secure the land." Lincoln noticed that Chandler's horse was too much fatigued to stand fourteen miles more of a forced march, and he therefore dismounted from his own and turned him over to Chandler, saying, "Here's my horse—he is fresh and full of grit; there's no time to be lost; mount him and put through. When you reach Springfield put him up at Herndon's tavern and I'll call and get him." Thus encouraged Chandler moved on, leaving Lincoln to follow on the jaded animal. He reached Springfield over an hour in advance of his rival and thus secured the coveted tract of land. By nightfall Lincoln rode leisurely into town and was met by the now radiant Chandler, jubilant over his success. Between the two a friendship sprang up which all the political discords of twenty-five years never shattered nor strained.

About this time Lincoln began to extend somewhat his system—if he really ever had a system in anything—of reading. He now began to read the writings of Paine, Volney, and Voltaire. A good deal of religious skepticism existed at New Salem, and there were frequent discussions at the store and tavern, in which Lincoln took part. What views he entertained on religious questions will be more fully detailed in another place.

No little of Lincoln's influence with the men of New

lem can be attributed to his extraordinary feats of
ength. By an arrangement of ropes and straps, har-
sed about his hips, he was enabled one day at the mill
astonish a crowd of village celebrities by lifting a box
stones weighing near a thousand pounds. There is no
ion either, as suggested by some of his biographers, in
story that he lifted a barrel of whisky from the ground
drank from the bung; but in performing this latter
ost incredible feat he did not stand erect and elevate
barrel, but squatted down and lifted it to his knees,
ing it over until his mouth came opposite the bung.
s strength, kindness of manner, love of fairness and
tice, his original and unique sayings, his power of
nicry, his perseverance—all made a combination rarely
with on the frontier. Nature had burnt him in her
y fire, and stamped him with the seal of her greatness.
n the summer of 1834 Lincoln determined to make an-
er race for the legislature; but this time he ran dis-
ctly as a Whig. He made, it is presumed, the usual
nber of speeches, but as the art of newspaper reporting
not reached the perfection it has since attained, we
not favored with even the substance of his efforts on
stump. I have Lincoln's word for it that it was more
a hand-shaking campaign than anything else. Rowan
rndon relates that he came to his house during harvest,
en there were a large number of men at work in the
d. He was introduced to them, but they did not hesitate
pprize him of their esteem for a man who could labor;
their admiration for a candidate for office was gauged
newhat by the amount of work he could do. Learning
se facts, Lincoln took hold of a cradle, and handling it
h ease and remarkable speed, soon distanced those who
lertook to follow him. The men were satisfied, and it
presumed he lost no votes in that crowd. One Dr.
rrett, seeing Lincoln, inquired of the latter's friends:
n't the party raise any better material than that?" but
er hearing his speech the doctor's opinion was con-
erably altered, for he declared that Lincoln filled him
h amazement; "that he knew more than all of the other

candidates put together." The election took place in August. Lincoln's friend, John T. Stuart, was also a candidate on the legislative ticket. He encouraged Lincoln's canvass in every way, even at the risk of sacrificing his own chances. But both were elected. The four successful candidates were Dawson, who received 1390 votes, Lincoln 1376, Carpenter 1170, and Stuart 1164.

At last Lincoln had been elected to the legislature, and by a very flattering majority. In order, as he himself said, "to make a decent appearance in the legislature," he had to borrow money to buy suitable clothing and to maintain his new dignity. Coleman Smoot, one of his friends, advanced him "two hundred dollars, which he returned, relates the generous Smoot, according to promise." Here we leave our rising young statesman, to take up a different but very interesting period of his history.

H A P T E R S I X[1]

CE THE DAYS WHEN IN INDIANA LINCOLN SAT ON THE
er's bank with little Kate Roby, dangling his bare feet
the water, there has been no hint in these pages of
der relations with any one of the opposite sex. Now
approach in timely order the "grand passion" of his
—a romance of much reality, the memory of which
ew a melancholy shade over the remainder of his days.
r the first time our hero falls in love. The courtship
h Anne Rutledge and her untimely death form the
ldest page in Mr. Lincoln's history. I am aware that
st of his biographers have taken issue with me on this
ıse of Mr. Lincoln's life. Arnold says: "The picture
been somewhat too highly colored, and the story made
her too tragic." Dr. Holland and others omit the sub-
t altogether, while the most recent biography—the ad-
rable history by my friends Nicolay and Hay—devotes
five lines to it. I knew Miss Rutledge myself, as well
her father and other members of the family, and have
n personally acquainted with every one of the score
more of witnesses whom I at one time or another inter-
wed on this delicate subject. From my own knowledge
l the information thus obtained, I therefore repeat, that
memory of Anne Rutledge was the saddest chapter in
. Lincoln's life.[2]

[1] See Editor's Preface, pp. xl-xliii, for a discussion of the sub-
of this chapter.

[2] The original edition contains the following footnote: "In
etter dated Dec. 4, 1866, one of Miss Rutledge's brothers
es: 'When he first came to New Salem and up to the day
Anne's death Mr. Lincoln was all life and animation. He
ned to see the bright side of every picture'."

James Rutledge, the father of this interesting girl, was one of the founders of New Salem, having come there from Kentucky in 1829. He was born in South Carolina and belonged to the noted Rutledge family of that state. I knew him as early as 1833, and have often shared the hospitality of his home. My father was a politician and an extensive stock dealer in that early day, and he and Mr. Rutledge were great friends. The latter was a man of no little force of character; those who knew him best loved him the most. Like other Southern people he was warm, —almost to impulsiveness,—social, and generous. His hospitality, an inherited quality that flashed with him before he was born, developed by contact with the brave and broad-minded people whom he met in Illinois. Besides his business interests in the store and mill at New Salem, he kept the tavern where Lincoln came to board in 1833. His family, besides himself and wife, consisted of nine children, three of whom were born in Kentucky, the remaining six in Illinois. Anne, the subject of this chapter, was the third child. She was a beautiful girl, and by her winning ways attached people to her so firmly that she soon became the most popular young lady in the village. She was quick of apprehension, industrious, and an excellent housekeeper. She had a moderate education, but was not cultured except by contrast with those around her. One of her strong points was her womanly skill. She was dexterous in the use of the needle—an accomplishment of far more value in that day than all the acquirements of art in china painting and hammered brass are in this—and her needle-work was the wonder of the day. At every "quilting" Anne was a necessary adjunct, and her nimble fingers drove the needle more swiftly than anyone's else. Lincoln used to escort her to and from these quilting-bees, and on one occasion even went into the house—where men were considered out of place—and sat by her side as she worked on the quilt.

He whispered into her ear the old, old story. Her heart throbbed and her soul was thrilled with a joy as old as the world itself. Her fingers momentarily lost their skill. In her ecstacy she made such irregular and uneven stitches

t the older and more sedate women noted it, and the ner of the quilt, until a few years ago still retaining s a precious souvenir, pointed out the memorable stitches such persons as visited her.

L. M. Greene, who remembered Anne well, says, "She s amiable and of exquisite beauty, and her intellect was ck, deep, and philosophic as well as brilliant. She had eart as gentle and kind as an angel, and full of love and npathy. Her sweet and angelic nature was noted by ry one who met her. She was a woman worthy of ncoln's love." This is a little overstated as to beauty— eene writes as if he too had been in love with her—but otherwise nearly correct.

'Miss Rutledge," says a lady (Mrs. Hardin Bale) who w her, "had auburn hair, blue eyes, fair complexion. e was pretty, slightly slender, but in everything a good rted young woman. She was about five feet two inches h, and weighed in the neighborhood of a hundred and nty pounds. She was beloved by all who knew her. e died as it were of grief. In speaking of her death l her grave Lincoln once said to me. 'My heart lies ied there.' "

Before narrating the details of Lincoln's courtship with ss Rutledge, it is proper to mention briefly a few facts t occurred before their attachment began.

About the same time that Lincoln drifted into New lem there came in from the Eastern States John McNeil, oung man of enterprise and great activity, seeking his tune in the West. He went to work at once, and within hort time had accumulated by commendable effort a nfortable amount of property. Within three years he ned a farm, and a half interest with Samuel Hill in the ding store. He had good capacity for business, and was aluable addition to that already pretentious village— w Salem. It was while living at James Cameron's se that this plucky and industrious young business man t saw Anne Rutledge. At that time she was attending school of Mentor Graham, a pedagogue of local renown ose name is frequently met with in these pages, and who

flourished in and around New Salem from 1829 to 1860. McNeil fell deeply in love with the school-girl—she was then only seventeen—and paid her the usual unremitting attentions young lovers of that age had done before him and are still doing today. His partner in the store, Samuel Hill, a young man of equal force of character, who afterwards amassed a comfortable fortune, and also wielded no little influence as a local politician, laid siege to the heart of this same attractive maiden, but he yielded up the contest early. Anne rejected him, and he dropped from the race. McNeil had clear sailing from this time forward. He was acquiring property and money day by day. As one of the pioneers puts it, "Men were honest then, and paid their debts at least once a year. The merchant surrounded by a rich country suffered little from competition. As he placed his goods on the shelf he added an advance of from seventy-five to one hundred and fifty per cent over cost price, and thus managed to get along." After "managing" thus for several years, McNeil, having disposed of his interest in the store to Hill, determined to return to New York, his native State, for a visit. He had accumulated up to this time, as near as we can learn, ten or possibly twelve thousand dollars. Before leaving he made to Anne a singular revelation. He told her the name McNeil was an assumed one; that his real name was McNamar.

"I left behind me in New York," he said, "my parents and brothers and sisters. They are poor, and were in more or less need when I left them in 1829. I vowed that I would come West, make a fortune, and go back to help them. I am going to start now and intend, if I can, to bring them with me on my return to Illinois and place them on my farm." He expressed a sense of deep satisfaction in being able to clear up all mysteries which might have formed in the mind of her to whom he confided his love. He would keep nothing, he said, from her. They were engaged to be married, and she should know it all. The change of his name was occasioned by the fear that if the family in New York had known where he was they

uld have settled down on him, and before he could have cumulated any property would have sunk him beyond covery. Now, however, he was in a condition to help em, and he felt overjoyed at the thought. As soon as e journey to New York could be made he would return. ice again in New Salem he and his fair one could con-mmate the great event to which they looked forward th undisguised joy and unbounded hope. Thus he ex-ined to Anne the purpose of his journey—a story with ne remarkable features, all of which she fully believed. "She would have believed it all the same if it had been times as incredible. A wise man would have re-ted it with scorn, but the girl's instinct was a better ide, and McNamar proved to be all that he said he was, hough poor Anne never saw the proof which others got it."[3]

At last McNamar, mounting an old horse that had par-ipated in the Black Hawk war, began his journey. In ssing through Ohio he became ill with a fever. For nost a month he was confined to his room, and a portion the time was unconscious. As he approached a return good health he grew nervous over the delay in his p. He told no one around him his real name, destina-n, or business. He knew how his failure to write to ew Salem would be construed, and the resulting irrita-n gave way to a feeling of desperation. In plainer lan-age, he concluded it was "all up with him now." Mean-ile a different view of the matter was taken by Miss tledge. Her friends encouraged the idea of cruel deser-n. The change of McNeil to McNamar had wrought their minds a change of sentiment. Some contended t he had undoubtedly committed a crime in his earlier ys, and for years had rested secure from apprehension der the shadow of an assumed name; while others with ual assurance whispered in the unfortunate girl's ear old story of a rival in her affections. Anne's lady ends, strange to relate, did more to bring about a dis-rdant feeling than all others. Women are peculiar crea-

[3] Lamon, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 161.

tures. They love to nettle and mortify one another; and when one of their own sex has fallen, how little sympathy they seem to have! But under all this fire, in the face of all these insidious criticisms, Anne remained firm. She had faith, and bided her time.

McNamar, after much vexatious delay, finally reached his birthplace in New York, finding his father in the decline of years and health. He provided for his immediate needs, and by his assiduous attentions undertook to atone for the years of his neglect; but all to no purpose. The old gentleman gradually faded from the world, and early one winter morning crossed the great river. McNamar was thus left to settle up the few unfinished details of his father's estate, and to provide for the pressing needs of the family. His detention necessitated a letter to Anne, explaining the nature and cause of the delay. Other letters followed; but each succeeding one growing less ardent in tone, and more formal in phraseology than its predecessor, Anne began to lose faith. Had his love gradually died away like the morning wind? was a question she often asked herself. She had stood firm under fire before, but now her heart grew sick with hope deferred. At last the correspondence ceased altogether.

At this point we are favored with the introduction of the ungainly Lincoln, as a suitor for the hand of Miss Rutledge. Lincoln had learned of McNamar's strange conduct, and conjecturing that all the silken ties that bound the two together had been sundered, ventured to step in himself. He had seen the young lady when a mere girl at Mentor Graham's school, and he, no doubt, then had formed a high opinion of her qualities. But he was too bashful, as his friend Ellis declares, to tell her about it. No doubt, when he began to pay her attentions she was the most attractive young lady whom up to that time he had ever met. She was not only modest and winning in her ways, and full of good, womanly common-sense, but withal refined, in contrast with the uncultured people who surrounded both herself and Lincoln. "She had a secret, too, and a sorrow,—the unexplained and painful absence of McNamar,—which, no doubt, made her all the more

eresting to him whose spirit was often even more mel-
choly than her own."

In after years, McNamar himself, describing her to
, said: "Miss Rutledge was a gentle, amiable maiden,
thout any of the airs of your city belles, but winsome
l comely withal; a blonde in complexion, with golden
r, cherry-red lips, and a bonny blue eye. As to her
rary attainments, she undoubtedly was as classic a
olar as Mr. Lincoln. She had at the time she met him,
elieve, attended a literary institution at Jacksonville, in
mpany with her brother."

McNamar seems to have considered Lincoln's bashful-
ss proof against the alluring charms of Miss Rutledge
anybody else, for he continues:

'Mr. Lincoln was not to my knowledge paying particu-
attention to any of the young ladies of my acquaintance
en I left for my home in New York. There was no
alry between us on that score; on the contrary, I had
ery reason to believe him my warm, personal friend.
t by-and-by I was left so far behind in the race I did
t deem my chances worthy of notice. From this time
rward he made rapid strides to that imperishable fame
ich justly fills a world."

Lincoln began to court Miss Rutledge in dead earnest.
ke David Copperfield, he soon realized that he was in
nger of becoming deeply in love, and as he approached
brink of the pit he trembled lest he should indeed fall

As he pleaded and pressed his cause the Rutledges
l all New Salem encouraged his suit. McNamar's un-
plained absence and apparent neglect furnished outsiders
h all the arguments needed to encourage Lincoln and
nvince Anne. Although the attachment was growing
l daily becoming an intense and mutual passion, the
ng lady remained firm and almost inflexible. She was
ssing through another fire. A long struggle with her
lings followed; but at length the inevitable moment
ne. She consented to have Lincoln, provided he gave
time to write to McNamar and obtain his release from
pledge. The slow-moving mails carried her tender
er to New York. Days and weeks—which to the ar-

dent Lincoln must have seemed painfully long—passed, but the answer never came. In a half-hearted way she turned to Lincoln, and her looks told him that he had won. She accepted his proposal. Now that they were engaged he told her what she already knew, that he was poverty itself. She must grant him time to gather up funds to live on until he had completed his law studies. After this trifling delay "nothing on God's footstool," argued the emphatic lover, could keep them apart. To this the thoughtful Anne consented. To one of her brothers, she said: "As soon as his studies are completed we are to be married." But the ghost of another love would often rise unbidden before her. Within her bosom raged the conflict which finally undermined her health. Late in the summer she took to her bed. A fever was burning in her head. Day by day she sank, until all hope was banished. During the latter days of her sickness, her physician had forbidden visitors to enter her room, prescribing absolute quiet. But her brother relates that she kept inquiring for Lincoln so continuously, at times demanding to see him, that the family at last sent for him. On his arrival at her bedside the door was closed and he was left alone with her. What was said, what vows and revelations were made during this sad interview, were known only to him and the dying girl. A few days afterward she became unconscious and remained so until her death on the 25th day of August, 1835. She was buried in what is known as the Concord grave-yard, about seven miles north-west of the town of Petersburg.[4]

[4] In the original edition Herndon printed, as a footnote to this paragraph, the following extract from a letter written by John M. Rutledge, November 25, 1866: "I have heard mother say that Anne would frequently sing for Lincoln's benefit. She had a clear, ringing voice. Early in her illness he called, and she sang a hymn for which he always expressed a great preference. It begins:

'Vain man, thy fond pursuits forbear.'

You will find it in one of the standard hymn-books. It was likewise the last thing she ever sung."

he most astonishing and sad sequel to this courtship the disastrous effect of Miss Rutledge's death on Mr. oln's mind. It operated strangely on one of his calm stoical make-up. As he returned from the visit to the ide of Miss Rutledge, he stopped at the house of a nd, who relates that his face showed signs of no little tal agony. "He was very much distressed," is the uage of this friend, "and I was not surprised when as rumored subsequently that his reason was in dan-" One of Miss Rutledge's brothers says: "The effect n Mr. Lincoln's mind was terrible. He became plunged espair, and many of his friends feared that reason ld desert her throne. His extraordinary emotions e regarded as strong evidence of the existence of the lerest relations between himself and the deceased." truth is Mr. Lincoln was strangely wrought up over sad ending of the affair. He had fits of great mental ression, and wandered up and down the river and into woods woefully abstracted—at times in the deepest ress. If, when we read what the many credible per- who knew him at the time tell us, we do not con- e that he was deranged, we must admit that he walked hat sharp and narrow line which divides sanity from nity. To one friend (William Greene) he complained the thought "that the snows and rains fall upon her e filled him with indescribable grief." He was watched especial vigilance during damp, stormy days, under belief that dark and gloomy weather might produce a depression of spirits as to induce him to take his life. His condition finally became so alarming, his nds consulted together and sent him to the house of a friend, Bowlin Greene, who lived in a secluded spot en by the hills, a mile south of town. Here he re- ied for some weeks under the care and ever watchful of this noble friend, who gradually brought him back eason, or at least a realization of his true condition. ne years that followed Mr. Lincoln never forgot the ness of Greene through those weeks of suffering and . In 1842, when the latter died, and Lincoln was

selected by the Masonic lodge to deliver the funeral oration, he broke down in the midst of his address. "His voice was choked with deep emotion; he stood a few moments while his lips quivered in the effort to form the words of fervent praise he sought to utter, and the tears ran down his yellow and shrivelled cheeks. Every heart was hushed at the spectacle. After repeated efforts he found it impossible to speak, and strode away, bitterly sobbing, to the widow's carriage and was driven from the scene."

It was shortly after this that Dr. Jason Duncan placed in Lincoln's hands a poem called "Immortality." The piece starts out with the line, "Oh! why should the spirit of mortal be proud." Lincoln's love for this poem has certainly made it immortal. He committed these lines to memory, and any reference to or mention of Miss Rutledge would suggest them, as if "to celebrate a grief which lay with continual heaviness on his heart." There is no question that from this time forward Mr. Lincoln's spells of melancholy became more intense than ever. In fact a tinge of this desperate feeling of sadness followed him to Springfield. He himself was somewhat superstitious about it, and in 1840-41 wrote to Dr. Drake, a celebrated physician in Cincinnati, describing his mental condition in a long letter. Dr. Drake responded, saying substantially, "I cannot prescribe in your case without a personal interview." Joshua F. Speed, to whom Lincoln showed the letter addressed to Dr. Drake, writing to me from Louisville, November 30, 1866, says: "I think he (Lincoln) must have informed Dr. Drake of his early love for Miss Rutledge, as there was a part of the letter which he would not read." It is shown by the declaration of Mr. Lincoln himself made to a fellow member of the Legislature (Robert L. Wilson) within two years after Anne Rutledge's death that "although he seemed to others to enjoy life rapturously, yet when alone he was so overcome by mental depression he never dared to carry a pocket knife."

It may not be amiss to suggest before I pass from mention of McNamar that, true to his promise, he drove into

Salem in the fall of 1835 with his mother and brothnd sisters. They had come through from New York wagon, with all their portable goods. Anne Rutledge meanwhile died, and McNamar could only muse in ce over the fading visions of "what might have been." is arrival he met Lincoln, who, with the memory of mutual friend, now dead, constantly before him, ned desolate and sorely distressed." The little acre round in Concord cemetery contained the form of irst love, rudely torn from him, and the great world, bbing with life but cold and heartless, lay spread be- him.

CHAPTER SEVE

BEFORE TAKING UP AN ACCOUNT OF LINCOLN'S ENTRY IN
the Legislature, which, following strictly the order
time, properly belongs here, I beg to digress long enou
to narrate what I have gathered relating to another cou
ship—an affair of the heart which culminated in a sequ
as amusing as the one with Anne Rutledge was sad.
experienced much difficulty in obtaining the particula
of this courtship. After no little effort I finally locat
and corresponded with the lady participant herself, w
in 1866 furnished me with Lincoln's letters and her ov
account of the affair, requesting the suppression of h
name and residence. Since then, however, she has die
and her children have not only consented to a publicati
of the history, but have furnished me recently with mo
facts and an excellent portrait of their mother ma
shortly after her refusal of Lincoln's hand.

Mary S. Owens—a native of Green County, Kentuck
born September 29, 1808—first became acquainted w
Lincoln while on a visit to a sister, the wife of Ben
Able, an early settler in the country about New Sale
Lincoln was a frequent visitor at the house of Able, a
a warm friend of the family. During the visit of M
Owens in 1833, though only remaining a month, she l
gered long enough to make an impression on Linco
but returned to Kentucky and did not reappear in N
Salem till 1836. Meanwhile Anne Rutledge had di
and Lincoln's eyes began to wander after the dark-hai
visitor from Kentucky. Miss Owens differed from M
Rutledge in early education and the advantages of wea
She had received an excellent education, her father be

of the wealthiest and most influential men of his time locality. A portion of her schooling was obtained in Catholic convent, though in religious faith she was a ptist. According to a description furnished me by self she "had fair skin, deep blue eyes, and dark curl- hair; height five feet, five inches; weight about a ndred and fifty pounds." She was good-looking in hood; by many esteemed handsome, but became flesh- as she grew older. At the time of her second visit reached New Salem on the day of the Presidential tion, passing the polls where the men had congre- ed, on the way to her sister's house. One man (L. M. eene) in the crowd who saw her then was impressed h her beauty. Years afterwards, in relating the inci- t, he wrote me:

'She was tall, portly, had large blue eyes and the st trimmings I ever saw. She was jovial, social, loved and humor, had a liberal English education, and was sidered wealthy. None of the poets or romance writ- have ever given us a picture of a heroine so beautiful a good description of Miss Owens in 1836 would be."

A lady friend, Mrs. Hardin Bale, says she was "hand- ne, truly handsome, matronly-looking, over ordinary in height and weight."

ohnson G. Greene, who saw her a few years before her th describes her as "a nervous, muscular woman very llectual, with a forehead massive and angular, square, minent, and broad."

At the time of her advent into the society of New Salem was polished in her manners, pleasing in her address, attractive in many ways. She had a little dash of co- try in her intercourse with that class of young men o arrogated to themselves claims of superiority, but she er yielded to this disposition to an extent that would ingly lend encouragement to an honest suitor sincerely rous of securing her hand, when she felt she could not the end yield to a proposal of marriage if he should te the offer. She was a good conversationalist and a ndid reader, very few persons being found to equal

her in this accomplishment. She was light-hearted a
cheery in her disposition, kind and considerate for tho
with whom she was thrown in contact.

One of Miss Owens' descendants is authority for t
statement that Lincoln had boasted that "if Mary Owe
ever returned to Illinois a second time he would mar
her;" that a report of this came to her ears, whereup
she left her Kentucky home with a pre-determination
show him if she met him that she was not to be caug
simply by the asking. On this second visit Lincoln pa
her more marked attention than before, and his affectio
became more and more enlisted in her behalf. During t
earlier part of their acquaintance, following the natu
bent of her temperament she was pleasing and enterta
ing to him. Later on he discovered himself seriously
terested in the blue-eyed Kentuckian, whom he had rea
under-estimated in his preconceived opinions of her.
the meantime she too had become interested, having d
covered the sterling qualities of the young man who w
paying her such devoted attention; yet while she admi
she did not love him. He was ungainly and angular
his physical make-up, and to her seemed deficient in
nicer and more delicate attentions which she felt to be
from the man whom she had pictured as an ideal husba
He had given her to understand that she had grea
charmed him; but he was not himself certain that he co
make her the husband with whom he thought she wo
be most happy. Later on by word and letter he told
so. His honesty of purpose showed itself in all his
forts to win her hand. He told her of his poverty, a
while advising her that life with him meant to her w
had been reared in comfort and plenty, great privat
and sacrifice, yet he wished to secure her as a wife. S
however, felt that she did not entertain for him the sa
feeling that he professed for her and that she ought
entertain before accepting him, and so declined his of
Judging from his letters alone it has been supposed
some that she, remembering the rumor she had heard
his determination to marry her, and not being fully

of the sincerity of his purposes, may have purposely him in the earlier stages of his courtship somewhat ncertainty. Later on, however, when by his manner repeated announcement to her that his hand and heart e at her disposal, he demonstrated the honesty and erity of his intentions, she declined his offer kindly with no uncertain meaning.

he first letter I received from Mrs. Vineyard—for she married to Jesse Vineyard, March 27, 1841—was ten at Weston, Mo., May 1, 1866. Among other gs she says: "After quite a struggle with my feelings ave at last decided to send you the letters in my pos- ion written by Mr. Lincoln, believing as I do that you a gentleman of honor and will faithfully abide by all have said. My associations with your lamented friend e in Menard County whilst visiting a sister who then ded near Petersburg. I have learned that my maiden ne is now in your possession; and you have ere this, doubt, been informed that I am a native Kentuckian." he letters written by Lincoln not revealing enough de- s of the courtship, I prepared a list of questions for lady to answer in order that the entire history of their tions might be clearly shown. I perhaps pressed her closely in such a delicate matter, for she responded few days as follows:

"Weston, Mo., May 22, 1866.

. W. H. Herndon,

My Dear Sir: Really, you catechise me in true lawyer e; but I feel you will have the goodness to excuse me if ecline answering all your questions in detail, being well ired that few women would have ceded as much as I have er all the circumstances.

You say you have heard why our acquaintance terminated t did. I too have heard the same bit of gossip; but I never the remark which Madame Rumor says I did to Mr. coln. I think I did on one occasion say to my sister, who very anxious for us to be married, that I thought Mr. coln was deficient in those little links which make up the n of woman's happiness—at least it was so in my case.

Not that I believed it proceeded from a lack of goodness heart; but his training had been different from mine; her there was not that congeniality which would otherwise ha existed.

"From his own showing you perceive that his heart a hand were at my disposal; and I suppose that my feelin were not sufficiently enlisted to have the matter consummat About the beginning of the year 1838 I left Illinois, at wh time our acquaintance and correspondence ceased, with ever again being renewed.

"My father, who resided in Green County, Kentucky, wa gentleman of considerable means; and I am persuaded t few persons placed a higher estimate on education than did.

"Respectfully yours,

"Mary S. Vineyard."

The reference to Lincoln's deficiency "in those li links which make up the chain of woman's happiness" is no little significance. It proved that his training had ind been different from hers. In a short time I again wr Mrs. Vineyard to inquire as to the truth of a story curr in New Salem, that one day as she and Mrs. Bowlin Gre were climbing up the hill to Able's house they were joi by Lincoln; that Mrs. Greene was obliged to carry child, a fat baby boy, to the summit; that Lincoln strol carelessly along, offering no assistance to the woman v bent under the load. Thereupon Miss Owens, censur him for his neglect, reminded him that in her estimat he would not make a good husband. In due time ca her answer:

"Weston, Mo., July 22, 186

"Mr. W. H. Herndon:

"Dear Sir: I do not think you are pertinacious in ask the question relative to old Mrs. Bowlin Greene, becaus wish to set you right on that question. Your information doubt, came through my cousin, Mr. Gaines Greene, visited us last winter. Whilst here, he was laughing at about Mr. Lincoln, and among other things spoke about circumstance in connection with Mrs. Greene and child. impression is now that I tacitly admitted it, for it was a se

rouble with me, and I gave but little heed to the matter. never had any hard feelings towards each other that I v of. On no occasion did I say to Mr. Lincoln that I not believe he would make a kind husband, because he did tender his services to Mrs. Greene in helping of her carry babe. As I said to you in a former letter, I thought him ing in smaller attentions. One circumstance presents it- just now to my mind's eye. There was a company of us g to Uncle Billy Greene's. Mr. Lincoln was riding with and we had a very bad branch to cross. The other lemen were very officious in seeing that their partners safely over. We were behind, he riding in, never looking to see how I got along. When I rode up beside him, I arked, 'You are a nice fellow! I suppose you did not whether my neck was broken or not.' He laughingly ied (I suppose by way of compliment), that he knew I plenty smart to take care of myself.

In many things he was sensitive almost to a fault. He me of an incident: that he was crossing a prairie one day saw before him, 'a hog mired down,' to use his own guage. He was rather 'fixed up,' and he resolved that he ld pass on without looking at the shoat. After he had e by, he said the feeling was irresistible; and he had to back, and the poor thing seemed to say wistfully, 'There , my last hope is gone'; that he deliberately got down and ved it from its difficulty.

In many things we were congenial spirits. In politics saw eye to eye, though since then we differed as widely he South is from the North. But methinks I hear you 'Save me from a political woman!' So say I.

The last message I ever received from him was about a after we parted in Illinois. Mrs. Able visited Kentucky, he said to her in Springfield, 'Tell your sister that I think was a great fool because she did not stay here and marry Characteristic of the man!

"Respectfully yours,

"Mary S. Vineyard."

We have thus been favored with the lady's side of this , and it is but fair that we should hear the testimony er honest but ungainly suitor. Fortunately for us and history we have his view of the case in a series of

letters which have been preserved with zealous care by
lady's family. The first letter was written from Vanda
December 13, 1836, where the Legislature to which he
longed was in session. After reciting the progress of leg
lation and the flattering prospect that then existed for
removal of the seat of govenment to Spingfield, he g
down to personal matters by apprising her of his illness
a few days, coupled with the announcement that he is m
tified by daily trips to the post-office in quest of her lett
which it seemed never would arrive. "You see," he co
plains, "I am mad about that old letter yet. I don't l
to risk you again. I'll try you once more, anyhow
Further along in the course of the missive, he says: "Y
recollect, I mentioned at the outset of this letter, that I h
been unwell. That is the fact though I believe I am ab
well now; but that, with other things I cannot account f
have conspired, and have gotten my spirits so low tha
feel that I would rather be in any place in the world th
here. I really cannot endure the thought of staying h
ten weeks. Write back as soon as you get this, and if p
sible, say something that will please me; for really, I ha
not been pleased since I left you. This letter is so c
and stupid," he mournfully concludes, "that I am ashan
to send it, but with my present feelings I cannot do a
better."

After the adjournment of the Legislature he returned
Springfield, from which point it was a matter of e
driving to reach New Salem, where his lady-love was
journing, and where he could pay his addresses in pers
It should be borne in mind that he had by this time
moved to Springfield, the county seat, and entered on
practice of the law. In the gloom resulting from lack
funds and the dim prospects for business, he found t
to communicate with the friend whose case was constan
uppermost in his mind. Here is one characteristic lett

"Springfield, May 7, 183

"Friend Mary:

"I have commenced two letters to send you before this, b
of which displeased me before I got half done, and so I

n up. The first I thought wasn't serious enough, and the nd was on the other extreme. I shall send this, turn out t may.

This thing of living in Springfield is rather a dull business r all—at least it is so to me. I am quite as lonesome here I] ever was anywhere in my life. I have been spoken y but one woman since I've been here, and should not e been by her if she could have avoided it. I've never been hurch yet, and probably shall not be soon. I stay away use I am conscious I should not know how to behave elf. I am often thinking of what we said of your coming ve at Springfield. I am afraid you would not be satis-. There is a great deal of flourishing about in carriages , which it would be your doom to see without sharing in You would have to be poor without the means of hiding r poverty. Do you believe you could bear that patiently? atever woman may cast her lot with mine, should anyone do so, it is my intention to do all in my power to make happy and contented, and there is nothing I can imagine would make me more unhappy than to fail in the effort. now I should be much happier with you than the way I provided I saw no signs of discontent in you.

What you have said to me may have been in jest or I have misunderstood it. If so, then let it be forgotten; therwise I much wish you would think seriously before decide. For my part I have already decided. What I e said I will most positively abide by, provided you wish My opinion is you had better not do it. You have not accustomed to hardship, and it may be more severe than imagine. I know you are capable of thinking correctly ny subject; and if you deliberate maturely upon this be- you decide, then I am willing to abide your decision.

You must write me a good long letter after you get this. have nothing else to do, and though it might not seem esting to you after you have written it, it would be a deal of company in this busy wilderness. Tell your r I don't want to hear any more about selling out and ing. That gives me the hypo whenever I think of it.

"Yours, etc.

"LINCOLN."

ery few if any men can be found who in fond pursuit heir love would present their case voluntarily in such

an unfavorable light. In one breath he avows his affect
for the lady whose image is constantly before him, and
the next furnishes her reasons why she ought not to ma
him! During the warm, dry summer months he kept
the siege without apparent diminution of zeal. He v
as assiduous as ever, and in August was anxious to fo
a decision. On the 16th he had a meeting with her wh
terminated much like a drawn battle—at least it seems
have afforded him but little encouragement, for on
return to Springfield he immediately indulged in an ep
tolary effusion stranger than any that preceded it.

"FRIEND MARY:

"You will no doubt think it rather strange that I sho
write you a letter on the same day on which we parted; a
I can only account for it by supposing that seeing you la
makes me think of you more than usual, while at our l
meeting we had but few expressions of thoughts. You m
know that I cannot see you or think of you with entire
difference; and yet it may be that you are mistaken in reg
to what my real feelings towards you are. If I knew
were not, I should not trouble you with this letter. Perh
any other man would know enough without further infor
tion, but I consider it my peculiar right to plead ignora
and your bounden duty to allow the plea.

"I want in all cases to do right; and most particularly
in all cases with women. I want, at this particular time, m
than anything else, to do right with you, and if I knew
would be doing right, as I rather suspect it would, to let
alone, I would do it. And for the purpose of making
matter as plain as possible, I now say, that you can now d
the subject, dismiss your thoughts (if you ever had any) f
me forever, and leave this letter unanswered, without cal
forth one accusing murmur from me. And I will even
farther, and say, that if it will add anything to your comfor
peace of mind to do so, it is my sincere wish that you sho
Do not understand by this that I wish to cut your acqua
ance. I mean no such thing. What I do wish is that
further acquaintance shall depend upon yourself. If
further acqaintance would contribute nothing to your ha
ness, I am sure it would not to mine. If you feel yourse
any degree bound to me, I am now willing to release

ided you wish it; while, on the other hand, I am willing even anxious to bind you faster if I can be convinced that ill in any considerable degree add to your happiness. . indeed, is the whole question with me. Nothing would me more miserable, nothing more happy, than to know were so.

n what I have now said, I think I cannot be misunder-; and to make myself understood is the sole object of this .

t it suits you best to not answer this—farewell—a long and a merry one attend you. But if you conclude to e back, speak as plainly as I do. There can be neither n nor danger in saying to me anything you think, just in manner you think it.

My respects to your sister.

"Your friend,
"LINCOLN."

or an account of the final outcome of this *affaire du r* the reader is now referred to the most ludicrous letter Lincoln ever wrote. It has been said, but with how h truth I do not know, that during his term as Presi- the lady to whom it was written—Mrs. O. H. Brown- wife of a fellow-member of the legislature—before ng a copy of it to a biographer, wrote to Lincoln ask- his consent to the publication, but that he answered ning her against it because it was too full of truth. only biographer who ever did insert it apologized for ppearance in his book, regarding it for many reasons n extremely painful duty. 'If it could be withheld," aments, "and the act decently reconciled to the con- ce of a biographer[1] professing to be honest and can- it should never see the light in these pages. Its gro- ue humor, its coarse exaggerations in describing the on of a lady whom the writer was willing to marry; nputation of toothless and weatherbeaten old age to a an really young and handsome; its utter lack of that acy of tone and sentiment which one naturally expects ntleman to adopt when he thinks proper to discuss nerits of his late mistress—all these, and its defec-

[1] Lamon, *Life of Abraham Lincoln*, p. 181.

tive orthography, it would certainly be more agreeable
suppress than to publish. But if we begin by omitting
mutilating a document which sheds so broad a light u
one part of his life and one phase of his character, w
may we not do the like as fast and as often as the temp
tion arises? and where shall the process cease?"

I prefer not to take such a serious view of the le
or its publication. My idea is, that Mr. Lincoln got i
one of his irresistible moods of humor and fun—a state
feeling into which he frequently worked himself to av
the overwhelming effects of his constitutional melanch
—and in the inspiration of the moment penned this let
which many regard as an unfortunate composition.
class who take such a gloomy view of the matter sho
bear in mind that the letter was written by Mr. Lincol
the fervor of early manhood, just as he was emerging fr
a most embarrassing situation, and addressed to a fri
whom he supposed would keep it sacredly sealed from
public eye. As a matter of fact Mr. Lincoln was
gifted with a ready perception of the propriety of thi
in all cases. Nothing with him was intuitive. To h
profound judgment and just discrimination he requi
time to think; and if facts or events were forced bef
him in too rapid succession the machinery of his judgm
failed to work. A knowledge of this fact will account
the letter, and also serve to rob the offence—if any
committed—of half its severity.

The letter was written in the same month Miss Ow
made her final departure from Illinois.

"SPRINGFIELD, April 1, 183

"DEAR MADAM:—

"Without apologizing for being egotistical, I shall make
history of so much of my life as has elapsed since I saw
the subject of this letter. And, by the way, I now disc
that, in order to give a full and intelligible account of
things I have done and suffered since I saw you, I shall ne
sarily have to relate some that happened before.

"It was, then, in the autumn of 1836 that a married
of my acquaintance and who was a great friend of m

about to pay a visit to her father and other relatives
ing in Kentucky, proposed to me that on her return
would bring a sister of hers with her on condition that I
d engage to become her brother-in-law with all con-
nt despatch. I, of course, accepted the proposal, for you
I could not have done otherwise, had I really been
e to it; but privately, between you and me I was most
undedly well pleased with the project. I had seen the
sister some three years before, thought her intelligent
agreeable, and saw no good objection to plodding life
igh hand in hand with her. Time passed on, the lady
her journey, and in due time returned, sister in company
enough. This astonished me a little; for it appeared to
hat her coming so readily showed that she was a trifle
willing; but, on reflection, it occurred to me that she
t have been prevailed on by her married sister to come,
out anything concerning me ever having been mentioned
er; and so I concluded that, if no other objection pre-
d itself, I would consent to waive this. All this occurred
e on hearing of her arrival in the neighborhood; for, be
membered, I had not yet seen her, except about three
s previous, as above mentioned. In a few days we had
nterview; and, although I had seen her before, she did
ook as my imagination had pictured her. I knew she was
-size, but she now appeared a fair match for Falstaff. I
she was called an 'old maid,' and I felt no doubt of the
of at least half of the appellation; but now, when I be-
her, I could not for my life avoid thinking of my mother;
this, not from withered features, for her skin was too
of fat to permit of its contracting into wrinkles, but from
want of teeth, weather-beaten appearance in general, and
a kind of notion that ran in my head that nothing could
commenced at the size of infancy and reached her present
in less than thirty-five or forty years; and, in short, I was
t all pleased with her. But what could I do? I had told
sister I would take her for better or for worse; and I
a point of honor and conscience in all things to stick
y word, especially if others had been induced to act on it,
h in this case I had no doubt they had; for I was now
convinced that no other man on earth would have her,
hence the conclusion that they were bent on holding me
y bargain. 'Well,' thought I, 'I have said it, and, be the
equences what they may, it shall not be my fault if I fail

to do it.' At once I determined to consider her my wife; a this done, all my powers of discovery were put to work search of perfections in her which might be fairly set against her defects. I tried to imagine her handsome, whi but for her unfortunate corpulency, was actually true. Exc sive of this, no woman that I have ever seen has a finer fa I also tried to convince myself that the mind was much m to be valued than the person; and in this she was not inferi as I could discover, to any with whom I had been acquaint

"Shortly after this, without coming to any positive und standing with her, I set out for Vandalia, when and where y first saw me. During my stay there I had letters from which did not change my opinion of either her intellect intention, but on the contrary confirmed it in both.

"All this while, although I was fixed, 'firm as the sur repelling rock,' in my resolution, I found I was continua repenting the rashness which had led me to make it. Throu life, I have been in no bondage, either real or imaginary, fr the thraldom of which I so much desired to be free. A my return home, I saw nothing to change my opinions of in any particular. She was the same, and so was I. I r spent my time in planning how I might get along through after my contemplated change of circumstances should h taken place, and how I might procrastinate the evil day a time, which I really dreaded as much, perhaps more, t an Irishman does the halter.

"After all my suffering upon this deeply interesting s ject, here I am, wholly, unexpectedly, completely, out of 'scrape'; and now I want to know if you can guess ho got out of it—out, clear, in every sense of the term; no vi tion of word, honor, or conscience. I don't believe you guess, and so I might as well tell you at once. As lawyer says, it was done in the manner following, to- After I had delayed the matter as long as I thought I c in honor do (which, by the way, had brought me round the last fall), I concluded I might as well bring it to a summation without further delay; and so I mustered resolution, and made the proposal to her direct; but, sh ing to relate, she answered, No. At first I supposed she it through an affectation of modesty, which I thought bu became her under the peculiar circumstances of her c but on my renewal of the charge, I found she repelled it greater firmness than before. I tried it again and again,

n the same success, or rather with the same want of suc-
.

i finally was forced to give it up; at which I very unex-
edly found myself mortified almost beyond endurance. I
mortified, it seemed to me, in a hundred different ways.
vanity was deeply wounded by the reflection that I had
n too stupid to discover her intentions, and at the same
e never doubting that I understood them perfectly; and
that she, whom I had taught myself to believe nobody else
ld have, had actually rejected me with all my fancied
atness. And, to cap the whole, I then for the first time
an to suspect that I was really a little in love with her.
let it all go. I'll try and outlive it. Others have been
de fools of by the girls; but this can never with truth be
d of me. I most emphatically, in this instance, made a fool
myself. I have now come to the conclusion never again
think of marrying, and for this reason: I can never be
isfied with any one who would be blockhead enough to
e me.

When you receive this, write me a long yarn about some-
ng to amuse me. Give my respects to Mr. Browning.

"Your sincere friend,
"A. Lincoln."

. O. H. Browning.

As before mentioned Miss Owens was afterwards mar-
d and became the mother of five children. Two of her
s served in the Confederate army. She died July 4,
7. Speaking of Mr. Lincoln a short time before her
th she referred to him as "a man with a heart full of
nan kindness and a head full of common-sense."

CHAPTER EIGH

IN DECEMBER, 1834, LINCOLN PREPARED HIMSELF FOR T
Legislature to which he had been elected by such a c
plimentary majority. Through the generosity of his fri
Smoot he purchased a new suit of clothes, and enter
the stage at New Salem, rode through to Vandalia,
seat of government. He appreciated the dignity of his
position, and instead of walking to the capital, as s
of his biographers have contended, availed himself of
usual mode of travel. At this session of the Legislat
he was anything but conspicuous. In reality he was
modest, but shrewd enough to impress the force of
character on those persons whose influence might some
be of advantage to him. He made but little stir, if we
to believe the record, during the whole of this first sess
Made a member of the committee on Public Accounts
Expenditures, his name appears so seldom in the report
the proceedings that we are prone to conclude that he n
have contented himself with listening to the flashes
border oratory and absorbing his due proportion of
liamentary law. He was reserved in manner, but
observant; said little, but learned much; made the acqua
ance of all the members and many influential persons
the outside. The lobby at that day contained the re
sentative men of the state—men of acknowledged pr
nence and respectability, many of them able lawyers, dr
thither in advocacy of some pet bill. Schemes of
internal improvements attracted a retinue of log-rol
who in later days seem to have been an indispens
necessity in the movement of complicated legislative
chinery. Men of capital and brains were there. He e

ized the importance of knowing all these, trusting to inspiration of some future hour to impress them with skill as an organizer or his power as an orator. Among members of the outside or "third body" was Stephen Douglas, whom Lincoln then saw for the first time. glas had come from Vermont only the year before, but already undertaking to supplant John J. Hardin in the ce of States Attorney for the district in which both d. What impression he made on Lincoln, what opinions n formed of the other, or what the extent of their uaintance then was, we do not know. It is said that coln afterwards in mentioning their first meeting ob- ed of the newly-arrived Vermonter that he was the st man he had ever seen." The Legislature proper tained the youth and blood and fire of the frontier. ne of the men who participated in these early parlia- ntary battles were destined to carry the banners of at political parties, some to lead in war and some in great council chamber of the nation. Some were to the Governor's office, others to wear the judicial ermine, one was destined to be Chief Magistrate and die a rtyr to the cause of human liberty.

The society of Vandalia and the people attracted thither the Legislature made it, for that early day, a gay place eed. Compared to Lincoln's former environments, it no lack of refinement and polish. That he ab- bed a good deal of this by contact with the men and nen who surrounded him there can be no doubt. The ift of sentiment and the sweep of civilization" at this e can best be measured by the character of the legis- on. There were acts to incorporate banks, turnpikes, lges, insurance companies, towns, railroads, and female demies. The vigor and enterprise of New England ng with the illusory prestige of Kentucky and Virginia fast forming a new civilization to spread over the ries! At this session Lincoln remained quietly in the kground, and contented himself with the introduction resolution in favor of securing to the State a part of proceeds of sales of public lands within its limits.

[This resolution offered January 10, 1835, was laid on t table, and Lincoln made no further effort to bring it to vote. In addition to serving on the Committee of Pub Accounts and Expenditures, he was appointed to two sel committees—one to examine a bill to increase the numb of election precincts in Morgan County; the other w reference to the duties of the Attorney General.]

With this brief and modest record he returned to constituents at New Salem. With zealous perseveran he renewed his application to the law and to surveyi continuing his studies in both departments until he becar as he thought, reliable and proficient. By reason of change in the office of Surveyor for the county he beca a deputy under Thomas M. Neale, who had been elec to succeed John Calhoun. The speculation in lands ma a brisk business for the new surveyor, who even add Calhoun, his predecessor, to the list of deputies. L coln had now become somewhat established in the goo will and respect of his constituents. His bashfulness a timidity was gradually giving way to a feeling of se confidence, and he began to exult over his ability to sta alone.

[In the late autumn of 1835 Governor Duncan calle special session of the Legislature. Convening on Decem 7, the session lasted two months, and in it Lincoln took active part. He supported the State Bank in vari measures of which it was the subject; he upheld acts lo ing toward the construction of the Illinois and Mi gan Canal, and gave his vote for a proposal that Congr allow Illinois to enter not more than 500,000 acres government land on credit as an aid in making inte improvements.

National politics frequently intruded during the spe session. On the first day a Democratic convention me Vandalia and issued an address in support of Van Bu Within a short time the Senate, Whig by a majority one, nominated Hugh L. White of Tennessee for the Pr dency. The House, Democratic, retaliated with a serie resolutions bitterly anti-Whig in character. Much p

mishing, in which Lincoln took an active part, resulted.
e session ended February 7, 1836.]

he brief taste of public office which he had just enjoyed,
the distinction it gave him only whetted his appetite
further honors. Accordingly, in 1836 we find him a
didate for the Legislature again. I well remember this
npaign and the election which followed, for my father,
her G. Herndon, was also a candidate, aspiring to a
t in the State Senate. The legislature at the session
vious had in its apportionment bill increased the delega-
n from Sangamon County to seven Representatives and
) Senators. Party conventions had not yet been in-
ted, and there being no nominating machinery to inter-
e, the field was open for any and all to run. Lincoln
in resorted, in opening his canvass, to the medium of
political handbill. Although it had not operated with the
st satisfactory results in his first campaign, yet he felt
ling to risk it again. Candidates of that day evinced
more willingness to announce their position than
itical aspirants do now. Without waiting for a conven-
n to construct a platform, or some great political leader
"sound the key-note of the campaign," they stepped to
forefront and blew the bugle themselves. This custom
l account for the boldness of Lincoln's utterances and
unequivocal tone of his declarations. His card—a sort
political fulmination—was as follows:

"New Salem, June 13, 1836.

the Editor of The Journal:

In your paper of last Saturday I see a communication over
signature of 'Many Voters' in which the candidates who
announced in the *Journal* are called upon to 'show their
ds.' Agreed. Here's mine:

I go for all sharing the privileges of the government who
st in bearing its burdens. Consequently, I go for admitting
whites to the right of suffage who pay taxes or bear arms
no means excluding females).

If elected I shall consider the whole people of Sangamon
constituents, as well those that oppose as those that sup-
me.

"While acting as their Representative, I shall be gover
by their will on all subjects upon which I have the means
knowing what their will is; and upon all others I shall
what my own judgment teaches me will best advance th
interests. Whether elected or not, I go for distributing
proceeds of the sales of public lands to the several States
enable our State, in common with others, to dig canals
construct railroads without borrowing money and paying
interest on it.

"If alive on the first Monday in November, I shall vote
Hugh L. White for President.

"Very respectfully,

"A. LINCOLN."

It is generally admitted that the bold and decided st
Lincoln took—though too audacious and emphatic
statesmen of a later day—suited the temper of the tim
Leaving out of sight his expressed preference for Wh
of Tennessee,—on whom all the anti-Jackson forces w
disposed to concentrate, and which was but a mere qu
tion of men,—there is much food for thought in the sec
paragraph. His broad plan for universal suffrage
tainly commends itself to the ladies, and we need no furt
evidence to satisfy our minds of his position on the sub
of "Woman's Rights," had he lived. In fact, I can
refrain from noting here what views he in after years h
with reference to the great questions of moral and so
reforms, under which he classed universal suffrage, t
perance, and slavery. "All such questions," he obser
one day, as we were discussing temperance in the of
"must first find lodgment with the most enlightened s
who stamp them with their approval. In God's own t
they will be organized into law and thus woven into
fabric of our institutions."

The canvass which followed this public avowal of cr
was more exciting than any which had preceded it. Th
were joint discussions, and, at times, much feeling
exhibited. Each candidate had his friends freely
tributed through the crowd, and it needed but a few ar
interruptions or insinuating rejoinders from one spea

another to bring on a conflict between their friends. equently the speakers led in the battle themselves, as in case of Ninian W. Edwards—afterwards a brother-law of Lincoln—who, in debate, drew a pistol on his onent Achilles Morris, a prominent Democrat. An resting relic of this canvass recently came to light, in tter which Mr. Lincoln wrote a week after he had an-nced his candidacy. It is addressed to Colonel Robert en, a Democratic politician of local prominence, who been circulating some charges intended to affect Lin-n's chances of election. The affair brought to the face what little satire there was in Lincoln's nature, he administers—by way of innuendo—such a flaying the gallant colonel doubtless never wanted to have eated. The strangest part of it all is that the letter was ently found and given to the public by Allen's own n. It is as follows:

"New Salem, June 21, 1836.

EAR COLONEL:

'I am told that during my absence last week you passed ough this place and stated publicly that you were in session of a fact or facts, which if known to the public uld entirely destroy the prospects of N. W. Edwards and self at the ensuing election, but that through favor to us would forbear to divulge them. No one has needed ors more than I, and generally few have been less unwill-to accept them, but in this case favor to me would be in-tice to the public, and therefore I must beg your pardon declining it. That I once had the confidence of the people Sangamon county is sufficiently evident; and if I have done thing, either by design or misadventure, which if known uld subject me to a forfeiture of that confidence, he that ws of that thing, and conceals it, is a traitor to his ntry's interest.

I find myself wholly unable to form any conjecture of at fact or facts, real or supposed, you spoke; but my nion of your veracity will not permit me for a moment to bt that you at least believed what you said. I am flattered h the personal regard you manifested for me; but I do e that on mature reflection you will view the public in-

terest as a paramount consideration and therefore let
worst come.

"I assure you that the candid statement of facts on y
part, however low it may sink me, shall never break the
of personal friendship between us.

"I wish an answer to this, and you are at liberty to publ
both if you choose.

"Very respectfully,
"A. LINCOLN."

COL. ROBERT ALLEN.

Lincoln was sure the letter never would be publish
or answered, because Allen had no facts whatever u
which to base any such charges. He also knew that All
who was a hide-bound Democrat, was in politics the m
unreliable man in Sangamon County. A vein of iro
runs all through the letter, especially where in such
delicate way he pays tribute to the veracity of Allen, w
although a generous fellow in the ordinary sense of
term, was unlimited in exaggeration and a veritable
of wind. The effort to smoke him out appears to h
been of little effect, but enough appears in Lincoln's
ter to show that he was thoroughly warmed up.

A joint debate in which all the candidates participat
took place on the Saturday preceding the election. "
speaking began in the forenoon," says one of the part
pants, "the candidates speaking alternately until every
who could speak had had his turn, generally consuming
whole afternoon." Dr. Early, a Democratic candid
in his speech took issue with Ninian W. Edwards, stig
tizing some of the latter's statements as untrue.
brought Edwards to his feet with a similar retort.
angry tone and menacing manner, as he mounted a t
and with clenched fist hurled deficane at his challenger, f
boded a tumultous scene. "The excitement that follow
relates another one of the candidates, R. L. Wilson, "
intense—so much so that fighting men thought a duel m
settle the difficulty. Mr. Lincoln by the programme
lowed Early. Taking up the subject in dispute, he hand
it so fairly and with such ability, all were astonished

ıised." The turbulent spirits were quieted and the ficulty was easily overcome.

Lincoln's friend Joshua F. Speed relates that during campaign he made a speech in Springfield a few days ore the election. "The crowd was large," says Speed, d great numbers of his friends and admirers had come from the country. I remember that his speech was a y able one, using with great power and originality all arguments used to sustain the principles of the Whig ty as against its great rival, the Democratic party of t day. The speech produced a profound impression— crowd was with him. George Forquer, an old citizen, ıan of recognized prominence and ability as a lawyer, s present. Forquer had been a Whig—one of the champns of the party—but had then recently joined the mocratic party, and almost simultaneous with the change l been appointed Register of the Land Office, which ce he then held. Just about that time Mr. Forquer l completed a neat frame house—the best house then Springfield—and over it had erected a lightning rod, only one in the place and the first one Mr. Lincoln had r seen. He afterwards told me that seeing Forquer's ıtning rod had led him to the study of the properties electricity and the utility of the rod as a conductor. the conclusion of Lincoln's speech the crowd was ut dispersing, when Forquer rose and asked to be ard. He commenced by saying that the young man uld have to be taken down, and was sorry the task olved on him. He then proceeded to answer Lincoln's ech in a style which, while it was able and fair, in his ole manner asserted and claimed superiority." Lincoln od a few steps away with arms folded, carefully watchthe speaker and taking in everything he said. He was oring under a good deal of suppressed excitement. rquer's sting had roused the lion within him. At length rquer concluded, and he mounted the stand to reply.

"I have heard him often since," continued Speed, "in courts and before the people, but never saw him apr and acquit himself so well as upon that occasion.

His reply to Forquer was characterized by great dignity and force. I shall never forget the conclusion of tha speech: 'Mr. Forquer commenced his speech by announc ing that the young man would have to be taken down It is for you, fellow citizens, not for me to say whether am up or down. The gentleman has seen fit to allude t my being a young man; but he forgets that I am olde in years than I am in the tricks and trades of politicians I desire to live, and I desire place and distinction; but would rather die now than, like the gentleman, live to se the day that I would change my politics for an office wort three thousand dollars a year, and then feel compelle to erect a lightning rod to protect a guilty conscienc from an offended God'." The effect of this rejoinder wa wonderful, and gave Forquer and his lightning rod notoriety the extent of which no one envied him.

In the election which followed, Sangamon County in political sense was entirely turned over. Hitherto th Democrats had always carried it, but now the Whig gained control by an average majority of four hundre This time Lincoln led his ticket. The nine elected were Abraham Lincoln, Ninian W. Edwards, John Dawson Andrew McCormick, Dan Stone, Wm. F. Elkin, Robe L. Wilson, Job Fletcher, and Archer G. Herndon. Th last two were senators. On assembling at Vandalia the were at once, on account of their stature, dubbed th "Long Nine." In height they averaged over six feet, an in weight over two hundred pounds. "We were not onl noted," says one of them, Robert L. Wilson, "for ou number and length, but for our combined influence. A the bad or objectional laws passed at that session of th Legislature and for many years afterwards were charg able to the management and influence of the 'Long Nine' It is not my purpose to enter into a detailed account legislation at this period or to rehearse the history of th political conditions. Many and ingenious were the m nœuvres, but it would fill page after page to narrate the One thing which deserves mention in passing was "th Yankee contrivance," the convention system, which for t

rst time was brought into use. The Democrats, in obe-
ence to the behests of Jackson, had adopted it, and,
ngularly enough, among the very first named for office
ıder the operation of the new system was Stephen A.
ouglas, who was elected to the Legislature from Morgan
ounty. Its introduction was attributed to Ebenezer Peck,
Chicago, a Democrat who had once, it was said, served
the Canadian Parliament. This latter supposed con-
ction with a monarchical institution was sufficient to
ing down on his head the united hostility of the Whigs,
feeling in which even Lincoln joined. But after witness-
g for a time the wonderful effects of its discipline in
emocratic ranks, the Whigs too fell in, and resorted to
e use of the improved machinery.

The Legislature of which Mr. Lincoln thus became a
ember was one that will never be forgotten in Illinois.
s legislation in aid of the so-called internal improvement
stem was significantly reckless and unwise. The gigan-
c and stupendous operations of the scheme dazzled the
es of nearly everybody, but in the end it rolled up a debt
enormous as to impede the otherwise marvelous prog-
ss of Illinois. The burdens imposed by this Legislature
ıder the guise of improvements became so monumental
size it is little wonder that at intervals for years after-
ard the monster of repudiation often showed its hideous
ce above the waves of popular indignation. These at-
mpts at a settlement of the debt brought about a con-
tion of things which it is said led the Little Giant,
one of his efforts on the stump, to suggest that "Illinois
ght to be honest if she never paid a cent." However
uch we may regret that Lincoln took part and aided
this reckless legislation, we must not forget that his
rty and all his constituents gave him their united en-
rsement. They gave evidence of their approval of his
urse by two subsequent elections to the same office. It
s never surprised me in the least that Lincoln fell so
rmoniously in with the great system of improvement.
e never had what some people call "money sense." By
ason of his peculiar nature and construction he was en-

dowed with none of the elements of a political economist He was enthusiastic and theoretical up to a certain degree could take hold of, and wrap himself up in, a great moral question; but in dealing with the financial and commercial interests of a community or government he was equally as inadequate as he was ineffectual in managing the economy of his own household. In this respect alone I always regarded Mr. Lincoln as a weak man.

One of his biographers, describing his legislative career at this time, says of him: "He was big with prospects his real public service was just now about to begin. I the previous Legislature he had been silent, observant studious. He had improved the opportunity so well that of all men in this new body, of equal age in the service he was the smartest parliamentarian and cunningest 'log roller.' He was fully determined to identify himself conspicuously with the liberal legislation in contemplation and dreamed of a fame very different from that which he actually obtained as an anti-slavery leader. It was about this time he told his friend Speed that he aimed at the great distinction of being called the 'DeWitt Clinton of Illinois'."

The representatives in the Legislature from Sangamon County had been instructed by a mass convention of their constituents to vote "for a general system of internal improvements." Another convention of delegates from all the counties in the State met at Vandalia and made a similar recommendation to the members of the Legislature, specifying that it should be "commensurate with the wants of the people." Provision was made for a gridiron of railroads. The extreme points of the State, east and west, north and south, were to be brought together by thirteen hundred miles of iron rails. Every river and stream of the least importance was to be widened, deepened and made navigable. A canal to connect the Illinois River and Lake Michigan was to be dug, and thus the great system was to be made "commensurate with the wants of the people." To effect all these great ends, a loan of twelve

illion dollars was authorized before the session closed. Work on all these gigantic enterprises was to begin at the arliest practicable moment; cities were to spring up verywhere; capital from abroad was to come pouring in; ttracted by the glowing reports of marvelous progress nd great internal wealth, people were to come swarming by colonies, until in the end Illinois was to outstrip all he others, and herself become the Empire State of the nion.

Lincoln served on the Committee on Finance, and ealously labored for the success of the great measures roposed, believing they would ultimately enrich the State, nd redound to the glory of all who aided in their passage. n advocating these extensive and far-reaching plans he as not alone. Stephen A. Douglas, John A. McClernand, ames Shields, and others prominent in the subsequent istory of the State, were equally as earnest in espous- g the cause of improvement, and sharing with him the ory that attended it. Next in importance came the bill remove the seat of government from Vandalia. Spring- eld, of course, wanted it. So also did Alton, Decatur, eoria, Jacksonville, and Illiopolis. But the Long Nine, their adroitness and influence, were too much for their ntestants. They made a bold fight for Springfield, in- usting the management of the bill to Lincoln. The iends of other cities fought Springfield bitterly, but nder Lincoln's leadership the Long Nine contested with em every inch of the way. The struggle was warm and otracted. "Its enemies," relates one of Lincoln's col- agues (R. L. Wilson), "laid it on the table twice. In ose darkest hours when our bill to all appearances was yond resuscitation, and all our opponents were jubilant er our defeat, and when friends could see no hope, Mr. ncoln never for one moment despaired; but collecting his lleagues to his room for consultation, his practical com- on-sense, his thorough knowledge of human nature, then ade him an overmatch for his compeers and for any an that I have ever known." The friends of the bill

at last surmounted all obstacles, and only a day or tw before the close of the session secured its passage by joint vote of both houses.

[In 1819 the State capital had been removed fro Kaskaskia to an uninhabited spot on the Kaskaskia Rive which was christened Vandalia. The reason for the trans fer lay in the hope that the State, which owned the lan on which the new capital was located, would profit by th sale of town lots. The hope proved to be futile, sinc population increased much less rapidly than had been an ticipated. Moreover, the new capital soon became know as unhealthy, and its inns and boarding houses were no torious for their poor accommodations and high price As a result, agitation for the removal of the seat of gov ernment began long before the expiration of the twent year period for which the location had been made.

As early as 1834 a popular vote on the site of the cap ital was taken. Alton was successful, but by such a nar row margin that the question admittedly remained un settled. The decisive struggle came in 1837, when th subject was taken up by the Legislature. To secure th capital for Springfield was the primary purpose of th Sangamon delegation. This fact in large part explain the course of Lincoln and his colleagues on the intern improvement system. Every vote they gave to the variou parts of that scheme would strengthen their own positio when the capital law should come to a vote. On th fourth ballot Springfield was chosen. In describing th manner in which the new location was made Governo Ford commented acidly, "Thus it was made to cost th State about six millions of dollars to remove the seat o government from Vandalia to Springfield, half of whic sum would have purchased all the real estate in that tow at three prices."]

Meanwhile the great agitation against human slaver which like a rare plant had flourished amid the hills o New England in luxuriant growth, began to make its a pearance in the West. Missionaries in the great cause o

uman liberty were settling everywhere. Taunts, jeers, dicule, persecution, assassination even, were destined to rove ineffectual in the effort to suppress or exterminate ese pioneers of Abolitionism. These brave but derided postles carried with them the seed of a great reform. erhaps, as was then said of them, they were somewhat advance of their season, and perhaps too, some of the ed might be sown in sterile ground and never come to fe, but they comforted themselves with the assurance at it would not all die. A little here and there was desned to grow to life and beauty.

[By the middle thirties Abolition societies were sendg pamphlets and pictures broadcast throughout the couny. Many were inflammatory, and it is not surprising that outherners became alarmed. During 1836 many Southern gislatures passed resolutions on the subject and transitted them to Northern states in an effort to stop the ood of Abolition literature. In general, these resoluons asserted the exclusive right of the slaveholding states deal with slavery within their own limits, and asked orthern states to suppress by law the anti-slavery societies hich were attempting to interfere with this right. When overnor Duncan transmitted several of these resolutions the Illinois Legislature for its consideration, he precipited a lively debate on slavery and Abolitionism.]

It is not surprising, I think, that Lincoln should have ewed this New England importation with mingled susicion and alarm. Abstractly, and from the standpoint of nscience, he abhored slavery. But born in Kentucky, d surrounded as he was by slave-holding influences, abrbing their prejudices and following in their line of ought, it is not strange, I repeat, that he should fail estimate properly the righteous indignation and unrerained zeal of a Yankee Abolitionist. On the last day t one of the session, he solicited his colleagues to sign ith him a mild and carefully worded protest against the llowing resolutions on the subject of domestic slavery, hich had been passed by both houses of the Legislature answer to the Southern protests:

"Resolved by the General Assembly of the State of Illinois
"That we highly disapprove of the formation of Abolition societies and of the doctrines promulgated by them,
"That the right of property in slaves is sacred to the slave-holding States by the Federal Constitution, and that they cannot be deprived of that right without their consent,
"That the General Government cannot abolish slavery in the District of Columbia without the consent of the citizens of said District, without a manifest breach of good faith,
"That the Governor be requested to transmit to the States of Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, New York, and Connecticut, a copy of the foregoing report and resolutions."

All the members declined, however, save one, Dan Stone, who with his associate will probably be known long after mention of all other members of the Long Nine has dropped from history. The language and sentiment are clearly Lincolnian, and over twenty years afterward, when it was charged that Lincoln was an Abolitionist, and this protest was cited as proof, it was only necessary to call for a careful reading of the paper for an unqualified and overwhelming refutation of the charge. The records of the Legislature for March 3, 1837, contain this entry:

"Resolutions upon the subject of domestic slavery having passed both branches of the General Assembly at its present session, the undersigned hereby protest against the passage of the same.
"They believe that the institution of slavery is founded on both injustice and bad policy, but that the promulgation of abolition doctrines tends rather to increase than abate its evils.
"They believe that the Congress of the United States has no power under the Constitution to interfere with the institution of slavery in the different States.
"They believe that the Congress of the United States has the power under the Constitution to abolish slavery in the District of Columbia, but that the power ought not to be exercised unless at the request of the people of the District.
"The difference between these opinions and those contained in the above resolutions is their reason for entering this protest.

"Dan Stone,
"A. Lincoln,
"Representatives from the County of Sangamon."

This document so adroitly drawn and worded, this pro-
st pruned of any offensive allusions, and cautiously
amed so as to suit the temper of the times, stripped of
s verbal foliage reveals in naked grandeur the solemn
uth that "the institution of slavery is founded on both
justice and bad policy." A quarter of a century later
nds one of these protesters righting the injustice and
rrecting the bad policy of the inhuman and diabolical
stitution.

The return of the "Long Nine" to Springfield was the
casion of much enthusiasm and joy. The manifestations
public delight had never been equalled before, save when
e steamer *Talisman* made its famous trip down the
angamon in 1831. The returning legislators were wel-
med with public dinners and the effervescent buncombe
local orators. Amid the congratulations of warm
iends and the approval of their enthusiastic constituents,
which Lincoln received the lion's share of praise, they
parated, each departing to his own home.

After his return from the Legislature, Lincoln deter-
ined to remove to Springfield, the county seat, and begin
e practice of the law. Having been so instrumental in
curing the removal of the State capital from Vandalia,
d having received such encouraging assurances from
ajor John T. Stuart and other leading citizens, he felt
nfident of a good start.[1] He had little, if any, money,
t hoped to find in Springfield, as he had in New Salem,
od and influential friends, who, recognizing alike his
nesty and his nobility of character, would aid him when-

[1] In the original edition occurs the following extract from a
tement which Herndon took from H. E. Dummer, Stuart's
rtner from 1833 to 1837, on September 16, 1865: "Lincoln
ed to come to our office—Stuart's and mine—in Springfield
om New Salem and borrow law books. Sometimes he walked
t generally rode. He was the most uncouth looking young
an I ever saw. He seemed to have but little to say; seemed
feel timid, with a tinge of sadness visible in the countenance,
t when he did talk all this disappeared for the time and he
monstrated that he was both strong and acute. He surprised
more and more at every visit."

ever a crisis came and their help was needed. In this hope he was by no means in error, for his subsequent history shows that he indeed united his friends to himself with hooks of steel. I had up to this time frequently seen Mr Lincoln—had often, while visiting my cousins, James and Rowan Herndon, at New Salem, met him at their house—but became warmly attached to him soon after his removal to Springfield. There was something in his tall and angular frame, his ill-fitting garments, honest face, and lively humor that imprinted his individuality on my affection and regard. What impression I made on him I had no means of knowing till many years afterward. He was my senior by nine years, and I looked up to him, naturally enough, as my superior in everything—a thing I continued to do till the end of his days.

Now that the State capital was to be located at Springfield, that place began, by way of asserting its social superiority, to put on a good many airs. Wealth made its gaudy display, and thus sought to attain a preëminence from which learning and refinement are frequently cut off. Already, people had settled there who could trace their descent down a long line of distinguished ancestry. The established families were mainly from Kentucky. They reëchoed the sentiments and reflected the arrogance and elegance of a slave-holding aristocracy. "The Todds, Stuarts, and Edwardses were there, with priests, dogs, and servants;" there also were the Mathers, Lambs, Opdykes, Forquers, and Fords. Amid all "the flourishing about in carriages" and the pretentious elegance of that early day was Lincoln. Of origin, doubtful if not unknown; "poor without the means of hiding his poverty," he represented yet another importation from Kentucky which is significantly comprehended by the term, "the poor whites." Springfield, containing between one and two thousand people, was near the northern line of settlement in Illinois. Still it was the centre of a limited area of wealth and refinement. Its citizens were imbued with the spirit of push and enterprise. Lincoln therefore could not have been thrown into a better or more appreciative community

In March, 1837, he was licensed to practice law. His name appears for the first time as attorney for the plaintiff in the case of Hawthorne vs. Woolridge. He entered the office and became the partner of his comrade in the Black Hawk war, John T. Stuart, who had gained rather an extensive practice, and who, by the loan of sundry text-books several years before, had encouraged Lincoln to continue in the study of law. Stuart had emigrated from Kentucky in 1828, and on account of his nativity, if for no other reason, had great influence with the leading people in Springfield. He used to relate that on the next morning after his arrival in Springfield he was standing in front of the village store, leaning against a post in the sidewalk and wondering how to introduce himself to the community, when he was approached by a well-dressed old gentleman, who, interesting himself in the newcomer's welfare, enquired after his history and business. "I'm from Kentucky," answered Stuart, "and my profession is that of a lawyer, sir. What is the prospect here?" Throwing his head back and closing his left eye the old gentleman reflected a moment. "Young man, d——d slim chance for that kind of combination here," was the response.

At the time of Lincoln's entry into the office, Stuart was just recovering from the effects of a congressional race in which he had been the loser. He was still deeply absorbed in politics, and was preparing for the next canvass, in which he was finally successful—defeating the wily and ambitious Stephen A. Douglas. In consequence of the political allurements, Stuart did not give to the law his undivided time or the full force of his energy and intellect. Thus more or less responsibility in the management of business and the conduct of cases soon devolved on Lincoln. The entries in the account books of the firm are all in the handwriting of Lincoln. Most of the declarations and pleas were written by him also. This sort of exercise was never congenial to him, and it was the only time, save a brief period under Judge Logan, that he served as junior partner and performed the labor required of one who serves in that rather subordinate capacity. He had not

yet learned to love work. The office of the firm was in the upper story of a building opposite the north-west corner of the present Courthouse Square. In the room underneath the county court was held. The furniture was in keeping with the pretensions of the firm—a small lounge or bed, a chair containing a buffalo robe, in which the junior member was wont to sit and study, a hard wooden bench, a feeble attempt at a book-case, and a table which answered for a desk. Lincoln's first attempt at settlement in Springfield, which preceded a few days his partnership with Stuart, has been graphically described by his friend, Joshua F. Speed, who generously offered to share his quarters with the young legal aspirant. Speed, who was a prosperous young merchant, reports that Lincoln's personal effects consisted of a pair of saddlebags containing two or three law books and a few pieces of clothing. "He had ridden into town on a borrowed horse," relates Speed, "and engaged from the only cabinet-maker in the village a single bedstead. He came into my store, set his saddlebags on the counter, and inquired what the furniture for a single bedstead would cost. I took slate and pencil, made a calculation, and found the sum for furniture complete would amount to seventeen dollars in all. Said he: 'It is probably cheap enough; but I want to say that, cheap as it is, I have not the money to pay. But if you will credit me until Christmas, and my experiment here as a lawyer is a success I will pay you then. If I fail in that I will probably never pay you at all.' The tone of his voice was so melancholy that I felt for him. I looked up at him and I thought then, as I think now, that I never saw so gloomy and melancholy a face in my life. I said to him, 'So small a debt seems to affect you so deeply, I think I can suggest a plan by which you will be able to attain your end without incurring any debt. I have a very large room and a very large double bed in it, which you are perfectly welcome to share with me if you choose.' 'Where is you room?' he asked. 'Upstairs,' said I, pointing to the stairs leading from the store to my room. Without saying a word he took his saddlebags on his arm, went upstairs, set them

lown on the floor, came down again, and with a face eaming with pleasure and smiles, exclaimed, 'Well, Speed, 'm moved.' "

William Butler, who was prominent in the removal of he capital from Vandalia to Springfield, took no little nterest in Lincoln, while a member of the Legislature. \fter his removal to Springfield, Lincoln boarded at Butler's house for several years. He became warmly attached o the family, and it is probable the matter of pay never ntered Butler's mind. He was not only able but willing o befriend the young lawyer in this and many other ways.

Stephen T. Logan was judge of the Circuit Court, and Stephen A. Douglas was prosecuting attorney. Among he attorneys we find many promising spirits. Edward D. Baker, John T. Stuart, Cyrus Walker, Samuel H. Treat, esse B. Thomas, George Forquer, Dan Stone, Ninian W. Edwards, John J. Hardin, Schuyler Strong, A. T. Bledsoe, and Josiah Lamborn—a galaxy of names, each lestined to shed more or less lustre on the history of the State. While I am inclined to believe that Lincoln did ot, after entering Stuart's office, do as much deep and ssiduous studying as people generally credit him with, et I am confident he absorbed not a little learning by ontact with the great minds who thronged about the courts nd State Capitol. The books of Stuart and Lincoln, durng 1837, show a practice more extensive than lucrative, or while they received a number of fees, only two or three f them reached fifty dollars; and one of these has a credit f: "Coat to Stuart, $15.00," showing that they were comelled, now and then, even to "trade out" their earnings. The litigation was as limited in importance as in extent. There were no great corporations, as in this progressive ay, retaining for counsel the brains of the bar in every ounty seat, but the greatest as well as the least had to oin the general scramble for practice. The court conumed as much time deciding who had committed an assault or a trespass on a neighbor's ground, as it spent in he solution of questions arising on contracts, or unravelng similar legal complications. Lawyers depended for

success, not on their knowledge of the law or their familiarity with its underlying principles, but placed their reliance rather on their frontier oratory and the influence of their personal bearing before the jury.

Lincoln made Speed's store headquarters. There politics, religion, and all other subjects were discussed. There also public sentiment was made. The store had a large fireplace in the rear, and around it the lights of the town collected every evening. As the sparks flew from the crackling logs, another and more brilliant fire flashed when these great minds came into collision. Here were wont to gather Lincoln, Douglas, Baker, Calhoun, Browning, Lamborn, Jesse B. Thomas and others. Only those who were present and listened to these embryonic statesmen and budding orators will ever be able to recall their brilliant thoughts and appreciate their youthful enthusiasm. In the fall and winter of 1837, while I was attending college at Jacksonville, the persecution and death of Elijah P. Lovejoy at Alton took place. This cruel and uncalled for murder had aroused the anti-slavery sentiment everywhere. It penetrated the college, and both faculty and students were loud and unrestrained in their denunciation of the crime. My father, who was thoroughly pro-slavery in his ideas, believing that the college was too strongly permeated with the virus of Abolitionism, forced me to withdraw from the institution and return home. But it was too late. My soul had absorbed too much of what my father believed was rank poison. The murder of Lovejoy filled me with more desperation than the slave scene in New Orleans did Lincoln; for while he believed in non-interference with slavery, so long as the Constitution permitted and authorized its existence, I, although acting nominally with the Whig party up to 1853, struck out for Abolitionism pure and simple.

On my return to Springfield from college, I hired to Joshua F. Speed as clerk in his store. My salary, seven hundred dollars per annum, was considered good pay then. Speed, Lincoln, Charles R. Hurst, and I slept in the room upstairs over the store. I had worked for Speed before

oing to college, and after hiring to him this time again, ontinued in his employ for several years. The young ien who congregated about the store formed a society for he encouragement of debate and literary efforts. Some- imes we would meet in a lawyer's office and often in peed's room. Besides the debates, poems and other orig- ial productions were read. Unfortunately we ruled out ie ladies. I am free to admit I would not encourage a imilar thing nowadays; but in that early day the young ien had not the comforts of books and newspapers which re within the reach of every boy now. Some allowance herefore should be made for us. I have forgotten the ame of the society—if it had any—and can only recall a ew of its leading spirits. Lincoln, James Matheny, Noah Rickard, Evan Butler, Milton Hay, and Newton rancis were members. I joined also. Matheny was ecretary. We were favored with all sorts of literary roductions. Lincoln himself entertained us with a few nes of rhyme intended to illustrate some weakness in oman—her frailty, perhaps. Matheny was able several ears ago to repeat the one stanza which follows, and that as all he could recall—perhaps it was best he could emember no more:

"Whatever spiteful fools may say,
Each jealous, ranting yelper,
No woman ever went astray
Without a man to help her."

Matheny also related the following incident: "Near Hoffman's Row, where the courts were held in 1839-40, ved a shoemaker who frequently would get drunk and ivariably whipped his wife. Lincoln, hearing of this, old the man if he ever repeated it he would thrash him oundly himself. Meanwhile he told Evan Butler, Noah Rickard, and myself of it, and we decided if the offense ccurred again to join with Lincoln in suppressing it. In ue course of time we heard of it. We dragged the offen- er up to the courthouse, stripped him of his shirt, and ed him to a post or pump which stood over the well in

the yard back of the building. Then we sent for his wife and arming her with a good limb bade her 'light in'. We sat on our haunches and watched the performance. The wife did her work lustily and well. When we thought the culprit had had enough Lincoln released him; we helped him on with his shirt and he crept sorrowfully homeward. Of course he threatened vengeance, but still we heard no further reports of wife-whipping from him."[2]

Besides this organization we had a society in Springfield which contained and commanded all the culture and talent of the place. Unlike the other one its meetings were public and reflected great credit on the community. We called it the "Young Men's Lyceum." Late in 1837, Lincoln delivered before the society a carefully prepared address on the "Perpetuation of Our Free Institutions." The speech was brought out by the burning in St. Louis a few weeks before, by a mob, of a negro. Lincoln took this incident as a sort of text for his remarks. James Matheny was appointed by the Lyceum to request of Lincoln a copy of his speech and see to its publication.[3] The inspiration and burthen of it was law and order. It has been printed in full so often and is always to be found in the list of Lincoln's public speeches, that I presume I need not reproduce it here. It was highly sophomoric in character and abounded in striking and lofty metaphor. In point of rhetorical effort it excels anything he ever afterward attempted. Probably it was the thing people expect from a young man of twenty-eight. The address was published in the *Sangamon Journal* and created for the young orator a reputation which soon extended beyond the limits of the locality in which he lived. As illustrative of his style of oratory, I beg to introduce the concluding paragraph of the address. Having characterized the surviving soldiers of the Revolution as "living histories," he closes with the thrilling flourish: "But these histories are gone. They can be read no more forever. They were a fortress

[2] Original footnote.

[3] This sentence and the two which precede it Herndon used as footnote. The speech was made on January 27, 1838.

rength; but what invading foeman never could do, the ent artillery of time has—the levelling of its walls. They e gone. They were a forest of giant oaks; but the all- sistless hurricane has swept over them, and left only here d there a lonely trunk, despoiled of its verdure, shorn its foliage, unshading and unshaded, to murmur in a w more gentle breezes, and to combat with its mutilated nbs a few more rude storms, then to sink and be no re. They were pillars of the temple of liberty, and now at they have crumbled away, that temple must fall, unless , their descendants, supply their places with other pillars wn from the same solid quarry of sober reason. Passion s helped us, but can do so no more. It will in future be r enemy. Reason—cold, calculating, unimpassioned rea- n—must furnish all the materials for our further sup- rt and defense. Let these materials be moulded into neral intelligence, sound morality, and in particular, a verence for the Constitution and the laws. . . . Upon ese let the proud fabric of freedom rest as the rock of basis, and as truly as has been said of the only greater stitution, 'The gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' "

In time Lincoln's style changed: he became more elo- ent but with less gaudy ornamentation. He grew in atorical power, dropping gadually the alliteration and sy metaphor of youth, until he was able at last to deliver at grandest of all orations—the Gettysburg address.

One evening, while the usual throng of loungers sur- unded the inviting fireplace in Speed's store, the con- rsation turned on political matters. The disputants ixed warm and acrimonious as the discussion proceeded. usiness being over for the day, I strolled back and seat- g myself on a keg listened with eager interest to the ttle going on among these would-be statesmen. Douglas, recollect, was leading on the Democratic side. He had eady learned the art of dodging in debate, but still he s subtle, fiery, and impetuous. He charged the Whigs th every blunder and political crime he could imagine. o vulnerable spot seemed to have escaped him. At last, th great vehemence, he sprang up and abruptly made a

challenge to those who differed with him to discuss th whole matter publicly, remarking that, "This store is n place to talk politics." In answer to Douglas's challeng the contest was entered into. It took place in the Presby terian Church. Douglas, Calhoun, Lamborn, and Thoma represented the Democrats; and Logan, Baker, Browning and Lincoln, in the order named, presented the Whig sid of the question. One evening was given to each man, an it therefore required over a week to complete the tourna ment. Lincoln occupied the last evening, and although th people by that time had necessarily grown a little tired of th monotony and well-worn repetition, yet Lincoln's manne of presenting his thoughts and answering his Democrati opponents excited renewed interest. So deep was the im pression he created that he was asked to furnish his speec to the *Sangamon Journal* for publication and it afterward appeared in the columns of that organ.

Meanwhile Mr. Lincoln had attended one special se sion of the Legislature in July, 1837. The session wa called to take some action with regard to the financial co dition of the State. The Bank of the United States an the New York and Philadelphia Banks had suspende specie payments. This action had precipitated gener ruin among business men and interests over the enti country. The called session of the Legislature was i tended to save the Illinois banks from impending dissol tion. Lincoln retained his position on the Committee o Finance, and had lost none of his enthusiasm over th glorious prospects of internal improvements. The Legi lature, instead of abridging, only extended the alread colossal proportions of the great system. In this th paid no heed to the governor, whose head seems to ha been significantly clear on the folly of the enterprise.

[It is evident that the Legislature's refusal to abando the system of internal improvements met with the a proval of Lincoln's constituents. "On Tuesday last," sa the *Sangamon Journal* of July 29, "several members of th State Legislature and other distinguished men passi through our town, it occurred to some of our citizens th

invitation to a public dinner here, would be but paying em a proper tribute of respect for a faithful performce of their official duties." Accordingly, at two o'clock at afternoon some seventy men sat down to a "sumptuous nner" at the Rural Hotel.

After the meal had been concluded, twenty-two regular asts were offered and received "with great glee." Among em were "Springfield—the magnificence of the Capitol, hen completed, will make her the pride, as the hospitality her citizens has already made her the favorite of our ate;" and "The 'Long Nine of Old Sangamon'—Well ne good and faithful servants." Twelve or fifteen volteers followed, among them both Lincoln and Douglas. he former gave, "All our friends—They are too nuerous to be now named individually, while there is no e of them who is not too dear to be forgotten or negcted;" while the latter proposed, "The last winter's legation—may its results prove no less beneficial to the hole State than they have to our town."

Lincoln came in for further honors at a large banquet ven at Athens a few days later to the Sangamon delegaon. There he was toasted twice, once in the words, He has fulfilled the expectations of his friends and disppointed the hopes of his enemies," and again as "One of ture's noblemen."]

In 1838 Mr. Lincoln was again elected to the Legisla- re. At this session, as the nominee of the Whig party, received thirty-eight votes for Speaker. Wm. L. D. ving, his successful competitor, the Democratic candidate, ceived forty-three votes, and was elected. Besides rening his place on the Finance Committee, Lincoln was signed to the Committee on Counties. The enthusiasm d zeal of the friends of internal improvements began flag now in view of the fact that the bonds issued were ginning to find their true level in point of value. Lin- ln, together with others of kindred views, tried to bol- r the "system" up; but soon the discouraging fact came apparent that no more money could be obtained, d the Legislature began to descant on what part of the

debt was lawful and what unlawful. Repudiation seeme
not far off. Mr. Lincoln despaired now of ever becomin
the "DeWitt Clinton of Illinois." We find him admittin
"his share of the responsibility in the present crisis," an
finally concluding that he was "no financier" after all.

[During the session of 1838 Lincoln took his place a
the undisputed leader of his party in the House. Unde
his leadership the Whigs were active in support of th
two State Banks, and with the backing of the friends o
Springfield, he succeeded in thwarting several serious at
tempts to repeal the law which made that town the cap
ital. Of most interest, however, was a plan he formulate
for the financial relief of the State. He proposed that th
Federal Government sell to Illinois at twenty-five cents pe
acre all the public land within its limits, and that th
State should then resell the land at the minimum goverr
ment price of $1.25 per acre. Since there were abou
twenty million acres of government land in Illinois, th
proceeds of the transaction would be more than sufficier
to carry the state debt and retire it in a short time. Th
proposal was put in the form of resolutions in which bot
the House and Senate concurred, but, needless to sa
nothing came of it.

In the autumn of 1839 the financial condition of th
State became so alarming that Governor Carlin called
special session of the General Assembly. On Decembe
9 it met in Springfield for the first time. Since the ne
State House was not yet finished, both branches of th
Legislature sat in churches. Although the session laste
several weeks, little was accomplished. Laws were passe
reviving the recently forfeited charter of the State Ban
at Springfield, forwarding work on the Illinois and Mic
igan Canal, and providing for the settlement of the i
ternal improvement debt. The system of public work
however, was not yet abandoned, and Lincoln was o
of the small majority which successfully resisted all a
tempts to repeal it.]

No sooner had the Legislature adjourned than Linco

cided—if he had not already so determined—to run for
e same place again. He probably wanted it for a vindi-
tion. He was pursued now more fiercely than ever,
d he was better able to endure the vilification of a po-
ical campaign than when he first offered himself to the
ters in New Salem.

Among the Democratic orators who stumped the county
this time was one Taylor—commonly known as Colonel
ck Taylor. He was a showy, bombastic man, with a
akness for fine clothes and other personal adornments.
equently he was pitted against Lincoln, and indulged in
ny bitter flings at the lordly ways and aristocratic pre-
sions of the Whigs. He had a way of appealing to "his
rny-handed neighbors," and resorted to many other art-
l tricks of a demagogue. When he was one day ex-
tiating in his accustomed style, Lincoln, in a spirit of
schief and, as he expressed it, "to take the wind out of
s sails," slipped up to the speaker's side, and catching
s vest by the lower edge gave it a sharp pull. The latter
stantly opened and revealed to his astonished hearers
ruffled shirt-front glittering with watch-chain, seals, and
ner golden jewels. The effect was startling. The speaker
ood confused and dumbfounded, while the audience
ared with laughter. When it came Lincoln's turn to
swer he covered the gallant colonel over in this style:
While Colonel Taylor was making these charges against
e Whigs over the country, riding in fine carriages, wear-
g ruffled shirts, kid gloves, massive gold watch-chains
h large gold-seals, and flourishing a heavy gold-headed
ne, I was a poor boy, hired on a flat-boat at eight dollars
month, and had only one pair of breeches to my back,
d they were buckskin. Now if you know the nature of
ckskin when wet and dried by the sun, it will shrink;
d my breeches kept shrinking until they left several
hes of my legs bare between the tops of my socks and
e lower part of my breeches; and whilst I was grow-
g taller they were becoming shorter, and so much tighter
t they left a blue streak around my legs that can be

seen to this day. If you call this aristocracy I plead guilty to the charge."[4]

It was during this same canvass that Lincoln by his manly interference protected his friend E. D. Baker from the anger of an infuriated crowd. Baker was a brilliant and effective speaker, and quite as full too of courage as invective. He was addressing a crowd in the court room which was immediately underneath Stuart and Lincoln's office. Just above the platform on which the speaker stood was a trap door in the floor, which opened into Lincoln's office. Lincoln at the time, as was often his habit, was lying on the floor looking down through the door at the speaker. I was in the body of the crowd. Baker was hot-headed and impulsive, but brave as a lion. Growing warm in his arraignment of the Democratic party, he charged that "wherever there was a land office there was a Democratic newspaper to defend its corruptions." This angered the brother of the editor of our town paper, who was present, and who cried out, "Pull him down," at the same time advancing from the crowd as if to perform the task himself. Baker, his face pale with excitement, squared himself for resistance. A shuffling of feet, a forward movement of the crowd, and great confusion followed. Just then a long pair of legs was seen dangling from the aperture above, and instantly the figure of Lincoln dropped on the platform. Motioning with his hands for silence and not succeeding, he seized a stone water-pitcher standing near by, threatening to break it over the head of the first man who laid hands on Baker. "Hold on, gentlemen," he shouted, "this is the land of free speech. Mr. Baker has a right to speak and ought to be heard. I am here to protect him, and no man shall take him from the stand if I can prevent it." His interference had the desired effect. Quiet was soon restored, and the valiant Baker was allowed to proceed. I was in the back part of the crowd that night, and an enthusiastic Baker man myself. I knew he was a brave man, and even if Lincoln

[4] Ms. statement of Ninian W. Edwards to Herndon.

l not interposed, I felt sure he wouldn't have been led from the platform without a bitter struggle.

This canvass—1840—was Mr. Lincoln's last campaign the Legislature. Feeling that he had had enough honor of the office he probably aspired for a place of more tinction. Jesse B. Thomas, one of the men who had resented the Democratic side in the great debate in the sbyterian Church, in a speech at the courthouse dur- this campaign, indulged in some fun at the expense the "Long Nine," reflecting somewhat more on Lincoln n the rest. The latter was not present, but being ap- sed by his friends of what had been said, hastened to meeting, and soon after Thomas closed, stepped upon platform and responded. The substance of his speech this occasion was not so memorable as the manner of delivery. He felt the sting of Thomas's allusions, and the first time, on the stump or in public, resorted to micry for effect. In this, as will be seen later along, was without a rival. He imitated Thomas in gesture l voice, at times caricaturing his walk and the very mo- n of his body. Thomas, like everybody else, had some uliarities of expression and gesture, and these Lincoln ceeded in rendering more prominent than ever. The wd yelled and cheered as he continued. Encouraged these demonstrations, the ludicrous features of the aker's performance gave way to intense and scathing icule. Thomas, who was obliged to sit near by and lure the pain of this unique ordeal, was ordinarily sen- ve; but the exhibition goaded him to desperation. He s so thoroughly wrought up with suppressed emotion t he actually gave way to tears. I was not a witness this scene, but the next day it was the talk of the town, l for years afterwards it was called the "skinning" of omas. Speed was there, so were A. Y. Ellis, Ninian Edwards, and David Davis, who was just then com- into prominence. The whole thing was so unlike coln, it was not soon forgotten either by his friends enemies. I heard him afterwards say that the recol- ion of his conduct that evening filled him with the

deepest chagrin. He felt that he had gone too far, and rid his good-nature of a load, hunted up Thomas and ma ample apology. The incident and its sequel proved th Lincoln could not only be vindictive but manly as well.

He was selected as an Elector on the Harrison ticket f President in 1840, and as such stumped over a good po tion of the State. In debate he frequently met Dougl who had already become the standard-bearer and expo ent of Democratic principles. These joint meetings we spirited affairs sometimes; but at no time did he find t Little Giant averse to a conflict. "He was very sensitive relates Joseph Gillespie, one of his colleagues on t stump, "where he thought he had failed to meet the e pectations of his friends. I remember a case. He w pitted by the Whigs in 1840 to debate with Mr. Dougl the Democratic champion. Lincoln did not come up the requirements of the occasion. He was conscious his failure, and I never saw any man so much distresse He begged to be permitted to try it again, and was r luctantly indulged; and in the next effort he transcend our highest expectations. I never heard and never exp to hear such a triumphant vindication as he then gave Whig measures or policy. He never after, to my know edge, fell below himself."

The campaign ended in his election to the Legislatu He was again the caucus nominee of the Whigs f Speaker, receiving thirty-six votes; but his former a tagonist, William L. D. Ewing, was elected by a major of ten votes over him. The proceedings of, and la enacted by, this Legislature are so much a matter of h tory and so generally known that it seems a needless ta on my part to enter into details. It is proper to no however, in passing, that Mr. Lincoln was neither pron nor constant in his attendance during the session. had been to a certain extent "upset" by another love fair, the particulars of which must be assigned to a ture chapter.

[The session of 1840-41 was a momentous one. cember 7, 1840 was the date on which the Legislature n

ally would have convened, but Governor Carlin sum-
oned it to meet two weeks before that date in order that
me provision for the payment of interest on the state
bt, due January 1, 1841, might be made. The internal
provement system, in the adoption of which Lincoln
d played such a prominent part, had collapsed, with
e result that Illinois was left with an enormous debt
d an empty treasury. After much oratory on the sub-
t a brief law was passed, virtually abandoning the sys-
n and legalizing the hypothecation of state bonds to raise
nds for the next interest payment. By the same method
e payment of interest on July 1, 1841, was met, but for
veral years thereafter Illinois made no effort to meet
r obligations.

The close of the preliminary session of 1840 was marked
a ludicrous incident in which Lincoln was the principal
tor. During the last session the Legislature had legalized
e suspension of specie payment by the state banks until
e end of the next session. If the special session were to
d on December 5, payment would have to be resumed
once. Knowing that the banks, particularly the one
Springfield, wanted a longer period of suspension, Lin-
n and the Whigs determined to prevent adjournment,
that the special and regular sessions would merge into
e, and the banks be relieved of the necessity of specie
yment until the close of the regular session in the spring
1841.

Outnumbered as they were in the House, the Whigs
termined to prevent a quorum on the afternoon of the
, so that the House could not concur in the resolution
adjournment which the Senate had already passed.
cordingly, only Lincoln and a few trusted friends ap-
ared. The Democrats discovered the ruse, and sent
sergeant at arms to bring in the missing members. He
urned without the necessary number, whereupon the
ors were locked to prevent the escape of the Whigs al-
dy present. However, while Lincoln and his friends
re enjoying the discomfiture of their angry opponents,
eral sick Democrats appeared and a quorum was un-

expectedly announced. Caught unawares, the Whigs lost their heads and recorded their votes, and then attempted to escape. Finding the doors locked, Lincoln, Joseph Gillespie and one or two others raised a window and jumped out—too late, of course, to have any effect other than to provide the Democrats with capital material for ridicule. Since Lincoln's legs "reached nearly from the window to the ground," asked the *State Register,* might it not be a good idea to raise the State House *"one story higher,* in order to have the House sit in the *third story!* so as to prevent members from *jumping out of the windows?"* Then "Mr. Lincoln will in the future have to *climb down the spout."*

During the regular session occurred a party battle of the utmost importance. Aroused by a decision manifestly partisan, and by the expectation of another soon to follow, the Democrats determined to destroy the Whig majority on the State Supreme Court. This was to be done by the enlargement of the Court from four to nine members, thus substituting a Democratic preponderance of six to three for the existing three to one of the Whigs. Party lines were tightly drawn, and the Whigs fought so strenuously that the measure was passed by the slim majority of two votes. Yet in this important contest Lincoln took no part other than to record his vote with his party friends.]

HAPTER NINE

E YEAR 1840 FINDS MR. LINCOLN ENTERING HIS THIRTY-
ond year and still unmarried. "I have come to the
clusion," he suggests in a facetious letter, two years
ore, "never again to think of marrying." But mean-
ile he had seen more of the world. The State Capital
l been removed to Springfield, and he soon observed
power and influence one can exert with high family
l social surroundings to draw upon. The sober truth
that Lincoln was inordinately ambitious. He had al-
dy succeeded in obtaining no inconsiderable political
ognition, and numbered among his party friends men
wealth and reputation; but he himself was poor, be-
es lacking the graces and ease of bearing obtained
ough mingling in polite society—in fact, to use the ex-
ssive language of Mary Owens, he was "deficient in
se little links which make up the chain of woman's
piness." Conscious, therefore, of his humble rank in
social scale, how natural that he should seek by mar-
ge in an influential family to establish strong connec-
ns and at the same time foster his political fortunes!
is may seem an audacious thing to insinuate, but on
other basis can we reconcile the strange course of his
rtship and the tempestuous chapters in his married
. It is a curious history, and the facts, long chained
vn, are gradually coming to the surface. When all is at
known, the world I believe will divide its censure be-
en Lincoln and his wife.

Mary Todd, who afterwards became the wife of Mr.
coln, was born in Lexington, Kentucky, December 13,
8. "My mother," related Mrs. Lincoln to me in 1865,

"died when I was still young. I was educated by Madam Mentelle, a lady who lived opposite Mr. Clay's, and wh was an accomplished French scholar. Our conversatio at school was carried on entirely in French—in fact w were allowed to speak nothing else. I finished my edu cation at Mrs. Ward's Academy, an institution to whic many people from the North sent their daughters. I 1837 I visited Springfield, Illinois, remaining three month I returned to Kentucky, remaining till 1839, when I agai set out for Illinois, which State finally became my home

The paternal grandfather of Mary Todd, General Le Todd, was born in 1756, was educated in Virginia, an studied law in the office of General Lewis of that Stat He emigrated to Kentucky, was a lieutenant in the cam paigns conducted by General George Rogers Clark again the Indians, and commanded a battalion in the battle Blue Licks, August 1782, where his brother, John Tod was killed. He succeeded Daniel Boone in command the militia, ranking as major-general, and was one of th first settlers in Lexington, Ky. February 25, 1779, married Miss Jane Briggs. The seventh child of th union, born February 25, 1791, was Robert S. Todd, th father of Mrs. Lincoln. On her maternal side Mrs. Li coln was highly connected. Her great-grandfather, Ge eral Andrew Porter, was in the war of the Revolution. H succeeded Peter Muhlenberg as major-general of the Pen sylvania militia. Her great uncles, George B. Porte who was governor of Michigan, James Madison Porte secretary of the navy under President Tyler, and Dav R. Porter, governor of Pennsylvania, were men of ab ity and distinction. Her mother, Anne Eliza Parker, w a cousin of her father, Robert S. Todd. The latter h served in both houses of the Kentucky Legislature, a for over twenty years was president of the Bank of Ke tucky of Lexington. He died July 16, 1849.

To a young lady in whose veins coursed the blood th had come down from this long and distinguished a cestral line, who could even go back in the genealogi chart to the sixth century, Lincoln, the child of Nan

anks, whose descent was dimmed by the shadow of dition, was finally united in marriage.

When Mary Todd came to her sister's house in Spring-ld in 1839, she was in her twenty-first year. She was a ung woman of strong, passionate nature and quick mper, and had "left her home in Kentucky to avoid living der the same roof with a stepmother."[1] She came to live th her oldest sister, Elizabeth, who was the wife of ncoln's colleague in the Legislature, Ninian W. Edwards. e had two other sisters, Frances, married to Dr. Willian allace, and Anne, who afterwards became the wife of M. Smith, a prominent and wealthy merchant. They resided in Springfield. She was of the average height, ighing when I first saw her about a hundred and thirty unds. She was rather compactly built, had a well unded face, rich dark-brown hair, and bluish-gray eyes. her bearing she was proud, but handsome and vivacious. er education had been in no wise defective; she was a od conversationalist, using with equal fluency the French d English languages. When she used a pen, its point s sure to be sharp, and she wrote with wit and ability. e not only had a quick intellect but an intuitive judg-nt of men and their motives. Ordinarily she was able and even charming in her manners; but when ended or antagonized, her agreeable qualities instantly appeared beneath a wave of stinging satire or sarcastic terness, and her entire better nature was submerged. In figure and physical proportions, in education, bearing, mperament, history—in everything she was the exact erse of Lincoln.

On her return to Springfield she immediately entered iety, and soon became one of the belles, leading the ung men of the town a merry dance. She was a very ewd observer, and discreetly and without apparent effort ot back all the unattractive elements in her unfortunate anization. Her trenchant wit, affability, and candor ased the young men not less than her culture and varied

[1] Statement of Mrs. Ninian W. Edwards (Elizabeth Todd) to ndon, August 3, 1887.

accomplishments impressed the older ones with whom sh
came in contact. The first time I met her was at a danc
at the residence of Colonel Robert Allen, a gentleman men
tioned in the preceding chapter. I engaged her for a walt
and as we glided through it I fancied I never before ha
danced with a young lady who moved with such grace an
ease. A few moments later, as we were promenadin
through the hall, I thought to compliment her gracefu
dancing by telling her that while I was conscious of m
own awkward movements, she seemed to glide throug
the waltz with the ease of a serpent. The strange com
parison was as unfortunate as it was hideous. I saw it i
an instant, but too late to recall it. She halted for a mo
ment, drew back, and her eyes flashed as she retorted
"Mr. Herndon, comparison to a serpent is rather sever
irony, especially to a newcomer."

Through the influence of Joshua F. Speed, who was
warm friend of the Edwardses, Lincoln was led to call o
Miss Todd. He was charmed with her wit and beauty
no less than by her excellent social qualities and pro
found knowledge of the strong and weak points in ind
vidual character. One visit succeeded another. It was th
old story. Lincoln had again fallen in love. "I have ofte
happened in the room where they were sitting," relate
Mrs. Edwards, describing this courtship, "and Mary in
variably led the conversation. Mr. Lincoln would sit at h
side and listen. He scarcely said a word, but gazed o
her as if irresistibly drawn towards her by some superio
and unseen power. He could not maintain himself in
continued conversation with a lady reared as Mary wa
He was not educated and equipped mentally to make hin
self either interesting or attractive to the ladies. He was
good, honest, and sincere young man whose rugged, man
qualities I admired; but to me he somehow seemed i
constituted by nature and education to please such a woma
as my sister. Mary was quick, gay, and in the social wor
somewhat brilliant. She loved show and power, and w
the most ambitious woman I ever knew. She used
contend when a girl, to her friends in Kentucky, that sh
was destined to marry a President. I have heard her s

at myself, and after mingling in society in Springfield
e repeated the seemingly absurd and idle boast. Al-
ough Mr. Lincoln seemed to be attached to Mary, and
scinated by her wit and sagacity, yet I soon began to
ubt whether they could always be so congenial. In a
ort time I told Mary my impression that they were not
ited, or, as some persons who believe matches are made
heaven would say, not intended for each other."

But Mrs. Edwards' advice was seed sown on rocky soil.
he courtship ran on smoothly to the point of engagement,
hen a new and disturbing element loomed up ahead in
eir paths. It was no less than the dashing and handsome
tephen A. Douglas, who now appeared on the scene in
e guise of a rival. As a society man Douglas was in-
itely more accomplished, more attractive and influential
an Lincoln, and that he should supplant the latter in the
fections of the proud and aristocratic Miss Todd is not
be marveled at. He was unremitting in his attentions
the lady, promenaded the streets arm-in-arm with her—
equently passing Lincoln—and in every way made plain
s intention to become the latter's rival. There are those
ho believe this warm reciprocation of young Douglas'
fection was a mere flirtation on Mary Todd's part, in-
nded to spur Lincoln up, to make him more demonstra-
ve, and manifest his love more positively and with greater
rvor. But a lady relative who lived with Lincoln and
s wife for two years after their marriage is authority
r the statement coming from Mrs. Lincoln herself that
he loved Douglas, and but for her promise to marry
ncoln would have accepted him." The unfortunate atti-
de she felt bound to maintain between these two young
en ended in a spell of sickness. Douglas, still hopeful,
as warm in the race, but the lady's physician,—her
other-in-law,—Dr. William Wallace, to whom she con-
led the real cause of her illness, saw Douglas and in-
ced him to end his pursuit,[2] which he did with great
luctance.

If Miss Todd intended by her flirtation with Douglas

[2] Statement of Mrs. Harriet Chapman to Herndon, November 1887.

to test Lincoln's devotion, she committed a grievous erro
If she believed, because he was ordinarily so undemon
strative, that he was without will-power and incapable o
being aroused, she certainly did not comprehend the mar
Lincoln began now to feel the sting. Miss Todd's spu
had certainly operated and with awakening effect. On
evening Lincoln came into our store and called for hi
warm friend Speed. Together they walked back to the fire
place, where Lincoln, drawing from his pocket a letter
asked Speed to read it. "The letter," relates Speed, "wa
addressed to Mary Todd, and in it he made a plain state
ment of his feelings, telling her that he had thought th
matter over calmly and with great deliberation, and nov
felt that he did not love her sufficiently to warrant her i
marrying him. This letter he desired me to deliver. Upo
my declining to do so he threatened to intrust it to som
other person's hand. I reminded him that the momen
he placed the letter in Miss Todd's hand, she would hav
the advantage over him. 'Words are forgotten,' I said, 'mis
understood, unnoticed in a private conversation, but onc
put your words in writing and they stand a living an
eternal monument against you.' Thereupon I threw th
unfortunate letter in the fire. 'Now,' I continued, 'if yo
have the courage of manhood, go see Mary yourself; te
her, if you do not love her, the facts, and that you will no
marry her. Be careful not to say too much, and then leav
at your earliest opportunity.' Thus admonished, he bu
toned his coat, and with a rather determined look starte
out to perform the serious duty for which I had just give
him explicit directions."

That night Speed did not go upstairs to bed with us, bu
under pretense of wanting to read, remained in the sto
below. He was waiting for Lincoln's return. Ten o'cloc
passed, and still the interview with Miss Todd had no
ended. At length, shortly after eleven, he came stalking i
Speed was satisfied, from the length of Lincoln's sta
that his directions had not been followed.

"Well, old fellow, did you do as I told you and as yo
promised?" were Speed's first words.

"Yes, I did," responded Lincoln, thoughtfully, "and hen I told Mary I did not love her, she burst into tears id almost springing from her chair and wringing her ands as if in agony, said something about the deceiver eing himself deceived." Then he stopped.

"What else did you say?" inquired Speed, drawing the cts from him.

"To tell you the truth Speed, it was too much for me. found the tears trickling down my own cheeks. I caught r in my arms and kissed her."

"And that's how you broke the engagement," sneered peed. "You not only acted the fool, but your conduct as tantamount to a renewal of the engagement, and in ecency you cannot back down now."

"Well," drawled Lincoln, "if I am in again, so be it. 's done, and I shall abide by it."[3]

Convinced now that Miss Todd regarded the engagement tified,—instead of broken, as her tall suitor had at first tended,—Lincoln continued his visits, and things moved n smoothly as before. Douglas had dropped out of the ace, and everything pointed to an early marriage. It as probably at this time that Mr. and Mrs. Edwards egan to doubt the wisdom of the marriage, and now and en to intimate the same to the lady; but they went no rther in their opposition and placed no obstacle in their aths.

The time fixed for the marriage was the first day in nuary, 1841.[4] Careful preparations for the happy occa- on were made at the Edwards mansion. The house nderwent the customary renovation; the furniture was roperly arranged, the rooms neatly decorated, the supper repared, and the guests invited. The latter assembled on e evening in question, and awaited in expectant pleasure e interesting ceremony of marriage. The bride, be- cked in veil and silken gown, and nervously toying with e flowers in her hair, sat in the adjoining room. Nothing

[3] Joshua F. Speed's statement to Herndon, September 17, 1866.

[4] For a discussion of this much-debated episode in Lincoln's fe see Editor's Preface, pp. xliii-xliv.

was lacking but the groom. For some strange reason he had been delayed. An hour passed, and the guests as well as the bride were becoming restless. But they were all doomed to disappointment. Another hour passed; messengers were sent out over town, and each returning with the same report, it became apparent that Lincoln, the principal in this little drama, had purposely failed to appear. The bride, in grief, disappeared to her room; the wedding supper was left untouched; the guests quietly and wonderingly withdrew; the lights in the Edwards mansion were blown out, and darkness settled over all for the night. What the feelings of a lady as sensitive, passionate, and proud as Miss Todd were we can only imagine—no one can ever describe them. By daybreak, after persistent search, Lincoln's friends found him. Restless, gloomy, miserable, desperate, he seemed an object of pity. His friends, Speed among the number, fearing a tragic termination, watched him closely in their rooms day and night. "Knives and razors, and every instrument that could be used for self-destruction were removed from his reach."[5] Mrs. Edwards did not hesitate to regard him as insane, and of course her sister Mary shared in that view. But the case was hardly so desperate. His condition began to improve after a few weeks, and a letter written to his partner Stuart, on the 23d of January, 1841, three weeks after the scene at Edward's house, reveals more perfectly how he felt. He says: "I am now the most miserable man living. If what I feel were equally distributed to the whole human family, there would not be one cheerful face on earth. Whether I shall ever be better, I cannot tell; I awfully forebode I shall not. To remain as I am is impossible. I must die or be better, as it appears to me . . . I fear I shall be unable to attend to any business here and a change of scene might help me. If I could be myself I would rather remain at home with Judge Logan. I can write no more."

[A letter to Stuart recommending Dr. A. G. Henry for postmaster of Springfield, written three days earlier than the one just quoted, throws more light on Lincoln's con

[5] Joshua F. Speed to Herndon, January 6, 1866.

tion at this time. "You know I desired Dr. Henry to ave that place when you left;" he writes, "I now desire more than ever. I have within the last few days, been aking a most discreditable exhibition of myself in the ay of hypochondriasm and thereby got an impression that r. Henry is necessary to my existence. Unless he gets at place he leaves Springfield. . . . My heart is very uch set upon it. Pardon me for not writing more; I have t sufficient composure to write a long letter." [6]

During all this time the Legislature to which Lincoln longed was in special session, but for a time he was able to attend.[7] Towards the close of the session, however, he resumed his seat. He took little if any part in e proceedings, made no speeches, and contented himself ith answers to the monotonous roll-call, and votes on a w of the principal measures. After the adjournment of e Legislature, his warm friend Speed, who had disposed his interests in Springfield, induced Lincoln to accomny him to Kentucky. Speed's parents lived in a magnicent place a few miles from Louisville. Their farm was ell stocked, and they, in the current phrase, "lived well." hither he was taken, and there amid the quiet surround-

[6] Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, p. 8-9.

[7] "From the opening of the session November 23, 1840, until nuary 1, 1841, Lincoln, as the Whig floor leader, had been conant in attendance, having missed but five or six of the many ll-calls during those busy five weeks. Beginning with Friday, nuary 1, he showed negligence. He was present but once on at day and twice on the next, each time at the close of busiss. On Monday he did not appear at all, notwithstanding much siness was transacted, some of particular interest to Lincoln. n Tuesday he was again absent except at the opening of the ouse when he voted for the incorporation of Galesburg. On ednesday he voted in the morning and again just before adurnment. On Thursday Lincoln answered one roll-call in the renoon, but did not vote on two important questions immeately thereafter; during the afternoon no vote was taken. From nuary 13 until January 21, 1841, he answered to his name ly once. . . .

"By the beginning of the fourth week in January, 1841, Lincoln d so far regained his composure as again to attend regularly e sessions of the House, and thereafter we find his vote recorded nearly every roll-call." Beveridge, *Abraham Lincoln*, I., . 289-90.

ings he found the "change of scene" which he told Stuar might help him. He was living under the cloud of melan cholia, and sent to the *Sangamon Journal* a few line under the gloomy title of "Suicide." They were published in the paper, and a few years since I hunted over the files and coming across the number containing them, was as tonished to find that some one had cut them out. I hav always supposed it was done by Lincoln or by some one a his instigation.

Speed's mother was much impressed with the tall an swarthy stranger her son had brought with him. She wa a God-fearing mother, and besides aiding to lighten hi spirits, gave him a Bible, advising him to read it and b adopting its precepts obtain a release from his trouble which no other agency, in her judgment, could bring him "He was much depressed. At first he almost contemplate suicide. In the deepest of his depression he said one da he had done nothing to make any human being remembe that he had lived; and that to connect his name with th events transpiring in his day and generation, and so impres himself upon them as to link his name with something tha would redound to the interest of his fellow-men, was wha he desired to live for."[8]

At the time of Lincoln's visit at the Speed mansion James Speed, a brother of Joshua, and afterwards Attor ney-General in Lincoln's Cabinet, was practicing law i Louisville. Lincoln came into his office daily. "He rea my books," related Mr. Speed in after years; "talked wit me about his life, his reading, his studies, his aspirations. Mr. Speed discredits the thought that Lincoln was insan at the time, although he understood he was saddened an melancholy over an unfortunate love affair. The congeni associations at the Speed farm,[9] the freedom from ur

[8] Joshua F. Speed to Herndon, February 9, 1866.

[9] It has recently been shown that Lincoln's visit to the Spee home was of much shorter duration than has been general supposed. On August 2, 1841, he was still in Springfield, a by mid-September he was again in Illinois. Beveridge, I., 318 In the original edition Herndon used the quotation from Jam Speed as a footnote.

easant reminders, the company of his staunch friend, id above all the motherly care and delicate attention of rs. Speed exerted a marked influence over Lincoln. e improved gradually, day by day gaining strength and nfidence in himself, until at last the great cloud lifted id passed away. In the fall he and Speed returned to pringfield. At this point, as affording us the most reliable count of Mr. Lincoln's condition and views, it is proper insert a portion of his correspondence with Mr. Speed. or some time Mr. Speed was reluctant to give these letters the world. After some argument, however, he at last ared my view that they were properly a matter of his- ry, and sent them to me, accompanied by a letter, in hich he says:

"I enclose you copies of all the letters of any interest om Mr. Lincoln to me. Some explanation may be eded that you may rightly understand their import. the winter of 1840 and 1841, he was unhappy about s engagement to his wife—not being entirely satisfied that s heart was going with his hand. How much he suffered en on that account none knew so well as myself; he dis- osed his whole heart to me.[10]

"In the summer of 1841 I became engaged to my wife. e was here on a visit when I courted her; and, strange say, something of the same feeling which I regarded so foolish in him took possession of me and kept me ry unhappy from the time of my engagement until I was arried. This will explain the deep interest he manifested his letters on my account.

"One thing is plainly descernible; if I had not been arried and happy—far more happy than I ever expected be—he would not have married."

[10] "Lincoln wrote a letter—a long one which he read to me— Dr. Drake of Cincinnati, descriptive of his case. Its date uld be in December, 1840, or early in January, 1841. I think t he must have informed Dr. Drake of his early love for ss Rutledge, as there was a part of the letter which he would read. . . . I remember Dr. Drake's reply, which was, that would not undertake to prescribe for him without a personal erview." Speed to Herndon, November 30, 1866.

The first of these letters is one which he gave Speed when the latter started on his journey from Illinois to Kentucky. It bears no date, but was handed him January 1, 1842, as Speed has testified, in another letter to me, that he left Springfield on that day. It is full of consolation and advice how best to conduct himself when the periods of gloom which he feels sure will follow come upon his friend. "I know," he says, "what the painful point with you is at all times when you are unhappy; it is an apprehension that you do not love her as you should. What nonsense! How came you to court her? . . . Did you court her for her wealth? Why, you say she had none. But you say you reasoned yourself into it. What do you mean by that? Was it not that you found yourself unable to reason yourself out of it? Did you not think, and partly form the purpose, of courting her the first time you ever saw her or heard of her? What had reason to do with it at that early stage? There was nothing at that time for reason to work upon. Whether she was moral, amiable, sensible, or even of good character, you did not nor could then know, except perhaps you might infer the last from the company you found her in. . . . Say candidly were not those heavenly black eyes the whole basis of all of your reasoning on the subject? After you and I had once been at the residence, did you not go and take me all the way to Lexington and back for no other purpose but to get to see her again on our return on that evening to take a trip for that express object?"

The next paragraph is significant as affording us an idea of how the writer perhaps viewed Miss Todd's flirtation with Douglas: "What earthly consideration," he asks, "would you take to find her scouting and despising you and giving herself up to another? But of this you need have no apprehension, and therefore you cannot bring it home to your feelings."

February 3, he writes again, acknowledging receipt of a letter dated January 25. The object of Speed's affection had been ill, and her condition had greatly intensified his gloomy spirits. Lincoln proffers his sympathy. "I hope

nd believe," he continues, "that your present anxiety about er health and her life must and will forever banish those orrid doubts which I know you sometimes felt as to the ruth of your affection for her. If they can once and orever be removed (and I almost feel a presentiment that he Almighty has sent your present affliction expressly for hat object), surely nothing can come in their stead to fill heir immeasurable measure of misery. . . .

"It really appears to me that you yourself ought to ejoice and not sorrow at this indubitable evidence of your ndying affection for her. Why, Speed, if you did not ve her, although you might not wish her death, you would ost certainly be resigned to it. Perhaps this point is no nger a question with you, and my pertinacious dwelling pon it is a rude intrusion upon your feelings. If so you ust pardon me. You know the hell I have suffered on that oint, and how tender I am upon it. You know I do not ean wrong. I have been quite clear of hypo since you ft, even better than I was along in the fall."

The next letter, February 13, was written on the eve of peed's marriage. After assurances of his desire to be- riend him in everything, he suggests: "But you will al- ays hereafter be on ground that I have never occupied, nd consequently, if advice were needed, I might advise rong. I do fondly hope, however, that you will never gain need any comfort from abroad . . . I incline to ink it probable that your nerves will fail you occasion- ly for awhile; but once you get them firmly guarded ow, that trouble is over forever. If you went through he ceremony calmly or even with sufficient composure ot to excite alarm in any present, you are safe beyond uestion, and in two or three months, to say the most, ill be the happiest of men."

Meanwhile Lincoln had been duly informed of Speed's arriage, and on the 25th he responds:

"Yours of the 16th, announcing that Miss Fanny and ou are 'no more twain, but one flesh,' reached me this orning. I have no way of telling how much happiness I ish you both, though I believe you both can conceive it. I

feel somewhat jealous of both of you now. You will be so exclusively concerned for one another that I shall be forgotten entirely . . . I shall be very lonesome without you. How miserably things seem to be arranged in this world! If we have no friends we have no pleasure, and if we have them we are sure to lose them, and be doubly pained by the loss."

In another letter, written the same day, he says, "I have no doubt it is the peculiar misfortune of both you and me to dream dreams of Elysium far exceeding all that anything earthly can realize. Far short of your dreams as you may be, no woman could do more to realize them than that same black-eyed Fanny. If you could but contemplate her through my imagination, it would appear ridiculous to you that any one should for a moment think of being unhappy with her. My old father used to have a saying, that, 'If you make a bad bargain hug it all the tighter,' and it occurs to me that if the bargain just closed can possibly be called a bad one it is certainly the most pleasant one for applying that maxim to which my fancy can by any effort picture."

Speed having now safely married, Lincoln's mind began to turn on things nearer home. His relations with Mary Todd were still strained, but reminders of his period of gloom the year before began now to bring her again into view. In a letter to Speed, March 27, he says:

"It cannot be told how it thrills me with joy to hear you say you are 'far happier than you ever expected to be.' That much, I know, is enough. I know you too well to suppose your expectations were not at least sometimes extravagant, and if the reality exceeds them all, I say 'Enough, dear Lord.' I am not going beyond the truth when I tell you that the short space it took me to read your last letter gave me more pleasure than the total sum of all I have enjoyed since that fatal first of January, 1841. Since then it seems to me I should have been entirely happy but for the never-absent idea that there is one still unhappy whom I have contributed to make so. That kills my soul. I cannot but reproach myself for ever wishing

be happy while she is otherwise. She accompanied a ge party on the railroad cars to Jacksonville last Mon- y, and on her return spoke, so that I heard of it, of ving enjoyed the trip exceedingly. God be praised for at!"

The last paragraph of this letter contains a bit of sen- ient by Lincoln in acknowledgment of a violet. In the rgin of the letter which he gave me, Speed made this te in pencil: "The violet was sent by my wife, who opped it in the letter as I was in the act of sealing it. ow beautiful the acknowledgment!" This is the para- aph: "The sweet violet you enclosed came safely to nd, but it was so dry, and mashed so flat, that it crum- ed to dust at the first attempt to handle it. The juice at mashed out of it stained a place in the letter, which mean to preserve and cherish for the sake of her who ocured it to be sent. My renewed good wishes to her."

Meanwhile the coldness that existed between Lincoln d his "Mary" was gradually passing away, and with it nt all of Lincoln's resolution never to renew the en- gement. In a letter, July 4, he says; "I must gain con- ence in my own ability to keep my resolves when they e made. In that ability I once prided myself as the ly chief gem of my character; that gem I lost, how and here you know too well. I have not regained it; and til I do I cannot trust myself in any matter of much portance. I believe now that had you understood my se at the time as well as I understood yours afterwards, the aid you would have given me I should have sailed rough clear; but that does not now afford me sufficient nfidence to begin that or the like of that again . . . I ways was superstitious; I believe God made me one of instruments of bringing Fanny and you together, which ion I have no doubt he had fore-ordained. Whatever designs he will do for me yet. 'Stand still and see the vation of the Lord,' is my text just now. If, as you , you have told Fanny all, I should have no objection her seeing this letter, but for its reference to our friend e; let her seeing it depend upon whether she has ever

known anything of my affairs; and if she has not, do no let her. I do not think I can come to Kentucky this sea son. I am so poor and make so little headway in th world that I drop back in a month of idleness as much a I gain in a year's sowing."

The last letter, and the one which closes this series, wa written October 5, 1842. In it he simply announced hi "duel with Shields," and then goes on to "narrate th particulars of the duelling business, which still rages in thi city." This referred to a challenge from the belligeren Shields to William Butler, and another from Genera Whitesides to Dr. Merryman. In the latter, Lincoln acte as the "friend of Merryman," but in neither case was ther any encounter, and both ended in smoke. The concludin paragraph of this letter is the most singular in the entir correspondence. I give it entire without further com ment:

"But I began this letter not for what I have bee writing, but to say something on that subject which yo know to be of such infinite solicitude to me. The immens sufferings you endured from the first days of Septembe till the middle of February you never tried to conce from me, and I well understood. You have now bee the husband of a lovely woman nearly eight months. Tha you are happier now than the day you married her, I wel know, for without, you could not be living. But I hav your word for it, too, and the returning elasticity o spirits which is manifested in your letters. But I wan to ask you a close question: 'Are you in *feeling* as well a *judgment* glad you are married as you are?' From any body but me this would be an impudent question not to b tolerated, but I know you will pardon it in me. Pleas answer it quickly, as I am impatient to know."

Lincoln again applied himself to the law. He reëntere the practice, after the long hiatus of rest, with renewe vigor. He permitted the memory of his engagement wit Mary Todd to trouble him no longer. Their paths ha diverged, the pain of the separation was over, and th whole thing was a history of the past. And so it migh

er have remained but for the intervention of a very rewd and sagacious lady—one who was capable of hieving success anywhere in the ranks of diplomacy. his lady was the wife of Simeon Francis, the editor of the *ngamon Journal*. She was a warm friend of Mary odd and a leader in society. Her husband was warmly tached to Lincoln. He ran the Whig organ, and enter- ined great admiration for Lincoln's brains and noble alities. The esteem was mutual, and it is no stretch the truth to say that for years Lincoln exercised undis- ted control of the columns of the *Journal* himself. hatever he wrote or had written, went into the editorial ge without question. Mrs. Francis, sharing her hus- nd's views of Lincoln's glorious possibilities, and de- ring to do Mary Todd a kindly act, determined to bring out a reconciliation. She knew that Miss Todd had by ter a few days after "that fatal first of January, 1841," Lincoln styled it, released him from the engagement, d that since then their relations had been strained, if t entirely broken off. As she viewed it, a marriage tween a man as promising in the political world as Lin- ln, and a woman as accomplished and brilliant in society Mary Todd, would certainly add to the attractions of ringfield and reflect great credit on those who brought e union about. She was a great social entertainer, and e day arranged a gathering at her house for the ex- ess purpose of bringing these two people together. Both ere invited and both attended; but neither suspected e other's presence. Having arranged things so in- niously and with so much discretion, it was no difficult sk for the hostess to bring the couple together by a rm introduction and the encouraging admonition, "Be iends again." Much to the surprise of both they found e web woven around them. They entered into the spirit the reconciliation, and found Mrs. Francis' roof an in- ing place for many succeeding meetings. A wall reared elf between them and the past, and they started again der the auspicious omens of another engagement. The t of a woman and the diplomacy of society had accom-

plished what love had long since despaired of ever doing or seeing done.

The meetings in the parlor of Mrs. Francis' house were conducted with no little privacy. At first even Mrs. Edwards knew nothing of it, but presently it came to her ears. "I asked Mary," said this lady, "why she was so secretive about it. She said evasively that after all that had occurred, it was best to keep the courtship from all eyes and ears. Men and women and the whole world were uncertain and slippery, and if misfortune befell the engagement all knowledge of it would be hidden from the world."

It is unnecessary to prolong the account of this strange and checkered courtship. The intervention of the affair with Shields, which will be detailed in a subsequent chapter, in no way impeded, if it did not hasten the marriage. One morning in November, Lincoln hastening to the room of his friend James H. Matheny before the latter had arisen from bed, informed that he was to be married that night, and requested him to attend as best man. That same morning Miss Todd called on her friend Julia M. Jayne, who afterward married Lyman Trumbull, and made a similar request. The Edwardses were notified, and made such meagre preparations as were possible on so short notice. License was obtained during the day, the minister, Charles N. Dresser, was sent for, and in the evening of November 4, 1842, "as pale and trembling as if being driven to slaughter," Abraham Lincoln was at last married to Mary Todd.[11]

"Marriages in Springfield up to that time," says James H. Matheny,[12] "had been rather commonplace affairs. Lin

[11] In the original edition Herndon printed the following note omitting mention of his authority: "While dressing for the wedding in his room at Butler's house, the latter's little boy Speed, seeing Lincoln so handsomely attired, in boyish innocence asked him where he was going? 'To hell, I suppose,' was Lincoln's reply."

[12] Letter to Herndon, August 21, 1888. Originally used as a footnote.

ln's was perhaps the first one ever performed with all e requirements of the Episcopal ceremony. A goodly mber of friends had gathered, and while witnessing the remony one of the most amusing incidents imaginable curred. No description on paper can do it justice. nong those present was Thomas C. Brown, one of the lges of the Supreme Court. He was in truth an 'old-ner,' and had the virtue of saying just what he thought, thout regard to place or surroundings. He had been the bench for many years and was not less rough than aint and curious. There was, of course, a perfect hush the room as the ceremony progressed. Brown was nding just behind Lincoln. Old Parson Dresser, in nonical robes, with much and impressive ceremony re-ed the Episcopal service. He handed Lincoln the ring, no, placing it on the bride's finger, repeated the church rmula, 'With this ring I thee endow with all my goods d chattels, lands and tenements.' Brown, who had never tnessed such a proceeding, was struck with its utter surdity. 'God Almighty! Lincoln,' he ejaculated, loud ough to be heard by all, 'the statute fixes all that!' is unlooked-for interruption almost upset the old par-n; he had a keen sense of the ridiculous, and for the oment it seemed as if he would break down; but pres-ly recovering his gravity, he hastily pronounced them sband and wife."

One great trial of his life was now over, and another l greater one was yet to come. To me it has always emed plain that Mr. Lincoln married Mary Todd to e his honor, and in doing that he sacrificed his domes-peace. He had searched himself subjectively, intro-ctively, thoroughly; he knew he did not love her, but had promised to marry her! The hideous thought ne up like a nightmare. As the "fatal first of Janu-, 1841," neared, the clouds around him blackened the vens and his life almost went out with the storm. But n the skies cleared. Friends interposed their aid to rt a calamity, and at last he stood face to face with the

great conflict between honor and domestic peace. He chose the former, and with it years of self-torture, sacrificial pangs, and the loss forever of a happy home.

With Miss Todd a different motive, but one equally as unfortunate, prompted her adherence to the union. To marry Lincoln meant not a life of luxury and ease, for Lincoln was not a man to accumulate wealth; but in him she saw position in society, prominence in the world, and the grandest social distinction. By that means her ambition would be satisfied. Until that fatal New Year's day in 1841 she may have loved him, but his action on that occasion forfeited her affection. He had crushed her proud, womanly spirit. She felt degraded in the eyes of the world. Love fled at the approach of revenge. Some writer—it is Junius, I believe—has said that, "Injuries may be forgiven and forgotten, but insults admit of no compensation; they degrade the mind in its own self-esteem and force it to recover its level by revenge." Whether Mrs. Lincoln really was moved by the spirit of revenge or not she acted along the lines of human conduct. She led her husband a wild and merry dance. If, in time, she became soured at the world it was not without provocation, and if in later years she unchained the bitterness of a disappointed and outraged nature, it followed as logically as an effect does the cause.

I have told this sad story as I know and have learned it. In rehearsing the varied scenes of the drama, I have unearthed a few facts that seem half-buried, perhaps, but they were not destined to lay buried deep or long. The world will have the truth as long as the name of Lincoln is remembered by mankind.

For many years I had reason to believe that Sarah Rickard, who was a sister of Mrs. William Butler, had been the recipient of some attentions at the hand of Mr. Lincoln. The lady, long since married, is now living in a Western State. I applied to her for information recently, and after some entreaty received this answer in her own handwriting: "As an old friend I will answer

e question propounded to me, though I can scarcely see
at good it can do history. Mr. Lincoln did make a
oposal of marriage to me in the summer, or perhaps
er, in the year 1840. He brought to my attention the
ounts in the Bible of the patriarch Abraham's marriage
Sarah, and used that historical union as an argument
his own behalf. My reason for declining his proposal
s the wide difference in our ages. I was then only
teen, and had given the subject of matrimony but very
le, if any, thought. I entertained the highest regard for
. Lincoln. He seemed almost like an older brother,
ng, as it were, one of my sister's family." [13]

There were two things Mr. Lincoln always seemed
ling to forget. One was his unparliamentary escape
h Joseph Gillespie from the Legislature by jumping
ough the church window, in 1839,[14] and the other was
difficulty with James Shields, or, as he expressed it in
etter to Speed, the "duel with Shields." Other inci-
nts in his career he frequently called up in conversa-
n with friends, but in after years he seldom if ever
erred to the affair with Shields. People in Illinois did
dually forget or, at least, cease to mention of it, but
more remote quarters where Mr. Lincoln was less ex-
sively known, the thing, much to his regret, kept ris-
to the surface. During a visit which I made to the
stern States in 1858, I was often asked for an account
the so-called duel; so often, in fact, that on my return
ne I told Mr. Lincoln of it. "If all the good things
ave ever done," he said regretfully, "are remembered
long and well as my scrape with Shields, it is plain I
ll not soon be forgotten."

James Shields, a "gallant, hot-headed bachelor from
rone County, Ireland," and a man of inordinate vanity,
been elected Auditor of State. Encouraged some-
at by the prominence the office gave him, he at once
umed a conspicuous position in the society of Spring-

[13] Original footnote.

[14] This escapade actually took place December 5, 1840.

field. He was extremely sensitive by nature, but exposed himself to merciless ridicule by attempting to establish his supremacy as a beau among the ladies. Blind to his own defects, and very pronounced in support of every act of the Democratic party, he made himself the target for all the bitterness and ridicule of the day. It happened that the financial resources of the State, owing to the collapse of the great internal improvement system, were exceedingly limited, and people were growing restless under what they deemed excessive taxation. The State officers were all Democrats, and during the summer they issued an order declining to receive any more State Bank notes or bills in payment of taxes. This made the tax-payer's burden greater than ever, as much of this paper remained outstanding in the hands of the people.[15] The order met with opposition from every quarter—the Whigs of course losing no opportunity to make it as odious as possible. It was perfectly natural, therefore, that such an ardent Whig as Lincoln should join in the popular denunciation. Through the columns of the Springfield *Journal,* of which he had the undisputed use, he determined to encourage the opposition by the use of his pen. No object seemed to merit more ridicule and caricature than the conspicuous figure of the Auditor of State. At this time Lincoln was enjoying stolen conferences under the hospitable roof of Mrs. Francis with Mary Todd and her friend Julia Jayne. These two young ladies, to whom he confided his purpose, encouraged it and offered to lend their aid. Here he caught the idea of puncturing Shields. The thing took shape in an article published in the *Journal,* purporting to have come from a poor widow, who with her pockets full of State Bank paper was still unable to obtain the coveted receipt for her taxes. It was written by Lincoln and was headed:[16]

[15] The order was not merely a piece of Democratic rascality as the reader might suppose from this account. In view of the circumstances, and under the law, it was the only possible course.

[16] The letter printed here was the second of a series of three. The first, headed "Lost Townships," August 10, 1842, was

A Letter from the Lost Townships.

LOST TOWNSHIPS, August 27, 1842.

EAR MR. PRINTER,

I see you printed that long letter I sent you a spell ago. n quite encouraged by it, and can't keep from writing again. hink the printing of my letters will be a good thing all und—it will give me the benefit of being known by the rld, and give the world the advantage of knowing what's ng on in the Lost Townships, and give your paper respect- lity besides. So here comes another. Yesterday afternoon urried through cleaning up the dinner dishes and stepped r to neighbor S—— to see if his wife Peggy was as well mout be expected, and hear what they called the baby. ell, when I got there and just turned round the corner of his cabin, there he was, setting on the doorstep reading a news- per. "How are you, Jeff?" says I. He sorter started when heard me, for he hadn't seen me before. "Why," says he, m mad as the devil, Aunt 'Becca!" "What about?" says I; n't its hair the right color? None of that nonsense, Jeff; re ain't an honester woman in the Lost Townships than"— han who?" says he; "what the mischief are you about?" I gan to see I was running the wrong trail, and so says I, h! nothing: I guess I was mistaken a little, that's all. But at is it you're mad about?"

'Why," says he, "I've been tugging ever since harvest, ting out wheat and hauling it to the river to raise State nk paper enough to pay my tax this year and a little school t I owe; and now, just as I've got it, here I open this in- nal *Extra Register*, expecting to find it full of 'Glorious mocratic Victories' and 'High Comb'd Cocks,' when, lo l behold! I find a set of fellows, calling themselves officers

nacular statement of the Whig position on the National Bank the tariff. One paragraph, however, referred to the specie oute in these terms:

"We heard a few days ago, by a traveller from Quincy, that Governor was going to send instructions to collectors, not to e any thing but gold and silver for taxes. He said that the ce-holders wanted gold and silver; and thought that the Gov- or should so far accommodate them as to force enough out the farmers to fill their pockets. I hope it aint so; because ve got no gold. If it has run up the Mississippi, as Col. ton said it would, it certainly hasn't run up the Kickapoo."

The letter of August 27 was the only one written by Lincoln.

of the State, have forbidden the tax collectors and school com missioners to receive State paper at all; and so here it is dea on my hands. I don't now believe all the plunder I've go will fetch ready cash enough to pay my taxes and that schoo debt."

I was a good deal thunderstruck myself; for that was th first I had heard of the proclamation, and my old man wa pretty much in the same fix with Jeff. We both stood moment staring at one another without knowing what to say At last says I, "Mr. S—, let me look at that paper." H handed it to me, when I read the proclamation over.

"There now," says he, "did you ever see such a piece o impudence and imposition as that?" I saw Jeff was in a goo tune for saying some ill-natured things, and so I tho't I woul just argue a little on the contrary side, and make him rant spell if I could. "Why," says I, looking as dignified an thoughtful as I could, "it seems pretty tough, to be sure, t have to raise silver where there's none to be raised; but ther you see, 'there will be danger of loss' if it ain't done."

"Loss! damnation!" says he. "I defy Daniel Webster, defy King Solomon, I defy the world—I defy—I defy—yes, defy even you, Aunt 'Becca, to show how the people can los anything by paying their taxes in State paper."

"Well," says I, "you see what the officers of State sa about it, and they are a desarnin' set of men.

"But," says I, "I guess you're mistaken about what th proclamation says. It don't say the people will lose anythin by the paper money being taken for taxes. It only says 'ther will be danger of loss'; and though it is tolerable plain tha the people can't lose by paying their taxes in something the can get easier than silver, instead of having to pay silver and though it's just as plain that the State can't lose by takin State Bank paper, however low it may be, while she owes th bank more than the whole revenue, and can pay that pap over on her debt, dollar for dollar;—still there is danger loss to the 'officers of State'; and you know, Jeff, we can't g along without officers of State."

"Damn officers of State!" says he; "that's what Whi are always hurrahing for."

"Now, don't swear so, Jeff," says I; "you know I belong the meetin', and swearin' hurts my feelings."

"Beg pardon, Aunt 'Becca," says he; "but I do say i enough to make Dr. Goddard swear, to have tax to pay

ver, for nothing only that Ford may get his two thousand
rear, and Shields his twenty-four hundred a year, and Car-
ter his sixteen hundred a year, and all without 'danger of
s' by taking it in State paper. Yes, yes: it's plain enough
v what these officers of State mean by 'danger of loss.'
ash, I s'pose, actually lost fifteen hundred dollars out of the
ee thousand that two of these 'officers of State' let him
al from the treasury, by being compelled to take it in State
er. Wonder if we don't have a proclamation before long,
mmanding us to make up this loss to Wash in silver."
And so he went on till his breath run out, and he had to
p. I couldn't think of anything to say just then, and so
egun to look over the paper again. "Ay! here's another
clamation, or something like it."
'Another?" says Jeff; "and whose egg is it, pray?"
I looked to the bottom of it, and read aloud, "Your obedient
vant, James Shields, Auditor."
'Aha!" says Jeff, "one of them same three fellows again.
ll, read it, and let's hear what of it."
I read on till I came to where it says, "The object of this
asure is to suspend the collection of the revenue for the
rent year."
'Now stop, now stop!" says he; "that's a lie a'ready, and I
n't want to hear of it."
'Oh! maybe not," says I.
'I say it—is—a—lie. Suspend the collection, indeed!
ll the collectors, that have taken their oaths to make the
lection, dare to suspend it? Is there anything in law re-
ring them to perjure themselves at the bidding of James
elds?
'Will the greedy gullet of the penitentiary be satisfied with
llowing him instead of all of them, if they should venture
obey him? And would he not discover some 'danger of
s,' and be off about the time it came to taking their places?
'And suppose the people attempt to suspend, by refusing to
; what then? The collectors would just jerk up their
ses and cows, and the like, and sell them to the highest
der for silver in hand, without valuation or redemption.
ny, Shields didn't believe that story himself: it was never
nt for the truth. If it was true, why was it not writ till
days after the proclamation? Why didn't Carlin and
penter sign it as well as Shields? Answer me that, Aunt
cca. I say it's a lie, and not a well told one at that. It

grins out like a copper dollar. Shields is a fool as well as a liar. With him truth is out of the question; and as for getting a good, bright, passable lie out of him, you might as well try to strike fire from a cake of tallow. I stick to it, it's all an infernal Whig lie!"

"A Whig lie! Highty tighty!"

"Yes, a Whig lie; and it's just like everything the cursed British Whigs do. First they'll do some divilment, and then they'll tell a lie to hide it. And they don't care how plain a lie it is: they think they can cram any sort of a one down the throats of the ignorant Locofocos, as they call the Democrats."

"Why, Jeff, you're crazy: you don't mean to say Shields is a Whig!"

"Yes, I do."

"Why, look here! the proclamation is in your own Democratic paper, as you call it."

"I know it; and what of that? They only printed it to let us Democrats see the deviltry the Whigs are at."

"Well, but Shields is the auditor of this Loco—I mean this Democratic State."

"So he is, and Tyler appointed him to office."

"Tyler appointed him?"

"Yes (if you must chaw it over), Tyler appointed him or, if it wasn't him, it was old Granny Harrison, and that's all one. I tell you, Aunt 'Becca, there's no mistake about him being a Whig. Why, his very looks shows it; everything about him shows it: if I was deaf and blind, I could tell him by the smell. I seed him when I was down in Springfield last winter. They had a sort of a gatherin' there one night among the grandees, they called a fair. All the gals about town was there, and all the handsome widows and married women, finickin' about trying to look like gals, tied as tight in the middle, and puffed out at both ends, like bundles of fodder that hadn't been stacked yet, but wanted stackin' pretty bad. And then they had tables all around the house kivered over with [ ] caps and pincushions and ten thousand such little knic-knacks, tryin' to sell 'em to the fellows that were bowin' and scrapin' and kungeerin' about 'em. They wouldn't let no Democrats in, for fear they'd disgust the ladies, or scare the little gals, or dirty the floor. I looked in at the window, and there was this same fellow Shields floating about on the air, without heft or earthly substances, just like a lock of cat fur where cats had been fighting.

'He was paying his money to this one, and that one, and ther one, and sufferin' great loss because it wasn't silver tead of State paper; and the sweet distress he seemed to in,—his very features, in the ecstatic agony of his soul, ke audibly and distinctly, 'Dear girls, it is distressing, but cannot marry you all. Too well I know how much you fer; but do, do remember, it is not my fault that I am so ndsome and so interesting'.

'As this last was expressed by a most exquisite contortion his face, he seized hold of one of their hands, and squeezed, l held on to it about a quarter of an hour. 'Oh, my good ow!' says I to myself, 'if that was one of our Democratic s in the Lost Townships, the way you'd get a brass pin let o you would be about up to the head.' He a Democrat! ddlesticks! I tell you, Aunt 'Becca, he's a Whig, and no stake: nobody but a Whig could make such a conceity nce of himself."

'Well," says I, "maybe he is; but, if he is, I'm mistaken the rst sort. Maybe so, maybe so; but, if I am, I'll suffer by I'll be a Democrat if it turns out that Shields is a Whig, nsiderin' you shall be a Whig if he turns out a Democrat."

'A bargain, by jingoes!" says he; "but how will we find t?"

'Why," says I, "we'll just write and ax the printer."

'Agreed again!" says he; "and by thunder! if it does turn that Shields is a Democrat, I never will"—

'Jefferson! Jefferson!"

'What do you want, Peggy?"

'Do get through your everlasting clatter some time, and ng me a gourd of water; the child's been crying for a nk this livelong hour."

'Let it die, then; it may as well die for water as to be taxed death to fatten officers of State."

Jeff run off to get the water, though, just like he hadn't en saying anything spiteful for he's a raal good-hearted fel-, after all, once you get at the foundation of him.

I walked into the house, and, "Why, Peggy," says I, "I clare we like to forgot you altogether."

'Oh, yes," says she, "when a body can't help themselves, erybody soon forgets 'em; but, thank God! by day after norrow I shall be well enough to milk the cows, and pen calves, and wring the contrary ones' tails for 'em, and no nks to nobody."

"Good evening, Peggy," says I, and so I sloped, for I seed she was mad at me for making Jeff neglect her so long.

And now, Mr. Printer, will you be sure to let us know in your next paper whether this Shields is a Whig or a Democrat? I don't care about it for myself, for I know well enough how it is already; but I want to convince Jeff. It may do some good to let him, and others like him, know who and what these officers of State are. It may help to send the present hypocritical set to where they belong, and to fill the places they now disgrace, with men who will do more work for less pay, and take a fewer airs while they are doing it. It ain't sensible to think that the same men who get us into trouble will change their course; and yet it's pretty plain if some change for the better is not made, it's not long that either Peggy or I or any of us will have a cow left to milk, or calf's tail to wring.

Yours truly,
REBECCA ——.

Within a week another epistle from Aunt Rebecca appeared, in which among other things, she offered the gallant Shields her hand. This one was written by Miss Todd and Miss Jayne. I insert it without further comment:

LOST TOWNSHIPS, *September* 8, 1842.

DEAR MR. PRINTER:

I was a-standin' at the spring yesterday a-washin' out butter when I seed Jim Snooks a-ridin' up towards the house for very life, when, jist as I was a-wonderin' what on airth was the matter with him, he stops suddenly, and ses he, "Aunt 'Becca, here's somethin' for you"; and with that he hands out your letter. Well, you see, I steps out towards him, no thinkin' that I had both hands full of butter; and seein' couldn't take the letter, you know, without greasin' it, I ses "Jim, jist you open it, and read it for me." Well, Jim opens it and reads it; and would you believe it, Mr. Editor, I was so completely dumfounded and turned into stone that there stood in the sun a-workin' the butter, and it a-running on the ground, while he read the letter, that I never thunk what I was about till the hull on't run melted on the ground and was lost. Now, sir, it's not for the butter, nor the price of the butter, but, the Lord have massy on us, I wouldn't have

n another fright for a whole firkin of it. Why, when I nd out that it was the man what Jeff seed down to the fair t had demanded the author of my letters, threatnin' to take sonal satisfaction of the writer, I was so skart that I tho't hould quill-wheel right where I was.

You say that Mr. S—— is offended at being compared to s' fur, and is as mad as a March hare (that ain't fur), be-se I told about the squeezin'. Now I want you to tell Mr. —that, rather than fight, I'll make any apology; and, if wants personal satisfaction, let him only come here, and he y squeeze my hand as hard as I squeezed the butter, and, if t ain't personal satisfaction, I can only say that he is the t man that was not satisfied with squeezin' my hand. If should not answer, there is one thing more that I would ner do than get a lickin'. I have long expected to die a low; but, as Mr. S—— is rather good-looking than other-e, I must say I don't care if we compromise the matter —really, Mr. Printer, I can't help blushin'—but I—it must ne out—I—but widowed modesty—well, if I must, I must—uldn't he—may be sorter let the old grudge drap if I was consent to be—be—h-i-s w-i-f-e? I know he's a fightin' n, and would rather fight than eat; but isn't marryin' better n fightin', though it does sometimes run in to it? And I 't think, upon the whole, that I'd be sich a bad match her: I'm not over sixty, and am jist four feet three in bare feet, and not much more around the girth; and for or, I wouldn't turn my back to nary a gal in the Lost vnships. But, after all, maybe I'm countin' my chickins ore they are hatched, and dreamin' of matrimonial bliss en the only alternative reserved for me may be a lickin'. tells me the way these fire-eaters do is to give the chal-ged party choice of weapons, etc., which bein' the case, tell you in confidence that I never fights with anything broomsticks or hot water or a shovelful of coals or some n thing; the former of which, being somewhat like a shilla- may not be very objectional to him. I will give him ice, however, in one thing, and that is, whether, when we t, I shall wear breeches or he petticoats, for, I presume change is sufficient to place us on an equality.

Yours, etc.,

RECECCA ——.

. S.—Jist say to your friend, if he concludes to marry

rather than fight, I shall only inforce one condition, that i
if he should ever happen to gallant any young gals home c
nights from our house, he must not squeeze their hands.

Not content with their epistolary efforts, the ladie
invoked the muse. "Rebecca" deftly transformed her
self into "Cathleen," and in jingling ryhme sang th
praises of Shields, and congratulated him over the pros
pect of an early marriage to the widow. Following ar
the verses, rhyme, metre, and all:

Ye Jew's harps awake! The Auditor's won.
Rebecca the widow has gained Erin's son;
The pride of the north from Emerald Isle
Has been wooed and won by a woman's smile.
The combat's relinquished, old loves all forgot:
To the widow he's bound. Oh, bright be his lot!
In the smiles of the conquest so lately achieved.
Joyful be his bride, "widowed modesty" relieved,
The footsteps of time tread lightly on flowers,
May the cares of this world ne'er darken his hours!
But the pleasures of life are fickle and coy
As the smiles of a maiden sent off to destroy.
Happy groom! in sadness far distant from thee
The fair girls dream only of past times of glee
Enjoyed in thy presence; whilst the soft blarnied store
Will be fondly remembered as relics of yore,
And hands that in rapture you oft would have pressed,
In prayer will be clasped that your lot may be blest.

The satire running through these various composition
and the publicity their appearance in the *Journal* ga
them, had a most wonderful effect on the vain and irascib
Auditor of State. He could no longer endure the merr
ment and ridicule that met him from every side. A ma
of cooler head might have managed it differently, but
the case of a high-tempered man like Shields he felt th
his integrity had been assailed and that nothing but a
"affair of honor" would satisfy him. Through Gener
John D. Whiteside he demanded of editor Francis t
name of the author. The latter hunted up Lincoln, w

rected him to give his name and say nothing about the lies. The further proceedings in this grotesque drama re so graphically detailed by friends of both parties the columns of the *Journal* at that time, that I copy eir letters as a better and more faithful narrative than n be obtained from any other source. The letter of ields' second, General Whiteside, appearing first in the *urnal,* finds the same place in this chapter:

SPRINGFIELD, Oct. 3, 1842.

THE EDITOR OF THE SANGAMON JOURNAL:

SIR: To prevent misrepresentation of the recent affair tween Messrs. Shields and Lincoln, I think it is proper to e a brief narrative of the facts of the case, as they came hin my knowledge; for the truth of which I hold myself ponsible, and request you to give the same publication. An ensive article in relation to Mr. Shields appeared in the *ngamon Journal* of the 2d of September last; and, on de- nding the author, Mr. Lincoln was given up by the editor. r. Shields, previous to this demand, made arrangements to to Quincy on public business; and before his return Mr. ncoln had left for Tremont to attend the court, with the ention, as we learned, of remaining on the circuit several eks. Mr. Shields, on his return, requested me to accom- ny him to Tremont; and, on arriving there, we found that r. Merryman and Mr. Butler had passed us in the night, and t there before us. We arrived in Tremont on the 17th ult., d Mr. Shields addressed a note to Mr. Lincoln immediately, orming him that he was given up as the author of some icles that appeared in the *Sangamon Journal* (one more er the signature having made its appearance at this time), d requesting him to retract the offensive allusions contained said articles in relation to his private character. Mr. ields handed this note to me to deliver to Mr. Lincoln, and ected me, at the same time, not to enter into any verbal nmunication, or be the bearer of any verbal explanation, as ch were always liable to misapprehension. This note was ivered by me to Mr. Lincoln, stating, at the same time, that would call at his convenience for an answer. Mr. Lincoln, the evening of the same day, handed me a letter addressed Mr. Shields. In this he gave or offered no explanation, stated therein that he could not submit to answer further,

on the ground that Mr. Shields' note contained an assumpti
of facts and also a menace. Mr. Shields then addressed h
another note, in which he disavowed all intention to mena
and requested to know whether he (Mr. Lincoln) was auth
of either of the articles which appeared in the *Journal*, head
'Lost Townships,' and signed 'Rebecca'; and, if so, he repeat
his request of a retraction of the offensive matter in relati
to his private character; if not, his denial would be h
sufficient. This letter was returned to Mr. Shields unanswer
with a verbal statement 'that there could be no further negot
tion between them until the first note was withdrawn.' M
Shields thereupon sent a note designating me as a friend,
which Mr. Lincoln replied by designating Dr. Merryma
These three last notes passed on Monday morning, the 19
Dr. Merryman handed me Mr. Lincoln's last note when
ourselves. I remarked to Dr. Merryman that the matter w
now submitted to us, and that I would propose that he a
myself should pledge our words of honor to each other to
to agree upon terms of amicable arrangement, and compel c
principals to accept of them. To this he readily assented, a
we shook hands upon the pledge. It was then mutually agre
that we should adjourn to Springfield, and there procrastin
the matter, for the purpose of effecting the secret arran
ment between him and myself. All this I kept concealed fr
Mr. Shields. Our horse had got a little lame in going
Tremont, and Dr. Merryman invited me to take a seat in
buggy. I accepted the invitation the more readily, as
thought that leaving Mr. Shields in Tremont until his ho
would be in better condition to travel would facilitate the p
vate agreement between Dr. Merryman and myself.
travelled to Springfield part of the way with him, and p
with Mr. Lincoln; but nothing passed between us on
journey in relation to the matter in hand. We arrived
Springfield on Monday night. About noon on Tuesday, to
astonishment, a proposition was made to meet in Misso
within three miles of Alton, on the next Thursday! T
weapons, cavalry broadswords of the largest size; the par
to stand on each side of a barrier, and to be confined t
limited space. As I had not been consulted at all on the s
ject, and considering the private understanding between
Merryman and myself, and it being known that Mr. Shie
was left at Tremont, such a proposition took me by surpr
However, being determined not to violate the laws of

ıte, I declined agreeing upon the terms until we should et in Missouri. Immediately after, I called upon Dr. rryman and withdrew the pledge of honor between him l myself in relation to a secret arrangement. I started er this to meet Mr. Shields, and met him about twenty es from Springfield. It was late on Tuesday night when both reached the city and learned that Dr. Merryman had for Missouri, Mr. Lincoln having left before the proposi- ı was made, as Dr. Merryman had himself informed me. e time and place made it necessary to start at once. We Springfield at eleven o'clock on Tuesday night, travelled night, and arrived in Hillsborough on Wednesday morn-, where we took in General Ewing. From there we went Alton, where we arrived on Thursday; and, as the proposi- ı required three friends on each side, I was joined by ıeral Ewing and Dr. Hope, as the friends of Mr. Shields. e then crossed to Missouri, where a proposition was made General Hardin and Dr. English (who had arrived there in mean time as mutual friends) to refer the matter to, I ık, four friends for a settlement. This I believed Mr. ields would refuse, and declined seeing him; but Dr. Hope, o conferred with him upon the subject, returned and stated t Mr. Shields declined settling the matter through any er than the friends he had selected to stand by him on that asion. The friends of both the parties finally agreed to hdraw the papers (temporarily) to give the friends of Mr. coln an opportunity to explain. Whereupon the friends of . Lincoln, to-wit, Messrs. Merryman, Bledsoe, and Butler, le a full and satisfactory explanation in relation to the cle which appeared in the *Sangamon Journal* of the 2d, the y one written by him. This was all done without the wledge or consent of Mr. Shields, and he refused to ac- e to it, until Dr. Hope, General Ewing, and myself declared apology sufficient, and that we could not sustain him in ıg further. I think it necessary to state further, that no lanation or apology had been previously offered on the t of Mr. Lincoln to Mr. Shields, and that none was ever ımunicated by me to him, nor was any even offered to unless a paper read to me by Dr. Merryman after he had ded me the broadsword proposition on Tuesday. I heard ittle of the reading of the paper, that I do not know fully ıt it purported to be; and I was the less inclined to inquire, Mr. Lincoln was then gone to Missouri, and Mr. Shields

not yet arrived from Tremont. In fact, I could not entert
any offer of the kind, unless upon my own responsibility; a
that I was not disposed to do after what had already tra
pired.

I make this statement, as I am about to be absent for so
time, and I think it due to all concerned to give a true vers
of the matter before I leave.

Your obedient servant,

JOHN D. WHITESIDE

SPRINGFIELD, October 8, 1842

EDITORS OF THE JOURNAL:

GENTS:—By your paper of Friday, I discover that Gene
Whiteside has published his version of the late affair betwe
Messrs. Shields and Lincoln, I now bespeak a hearing
my version of the same affair, which shall be true and full
to all material facts.

On Friday evening, the 16th of September, I learned t
Mr. Shields and General Whiteside had started in pursuit
Mr. Lincoln, who was at Tremont, attending court. I kn
that Mr. Lincoln was wholly unpracticed both as to
diplomacy and weapons commonly employed in similar affai
and I felt it my duty, as a friend, to be with him, and, so
as in my power, to prevent any advantage being taken of h
as to either his honor or his life. Accordingly, Mr. Butler a
myself started, passed Shields and Whiteside in the nig
and arrived at Tremont ahead of them on Saturday morni
I told Mr. Lincoln what was brewing, and asked him w
course he proposed to himself. He stated that he was whc
opposed to duelling, and would do anything to avoid it t
might not degrade him in the estimation of himself a
friends; but, if such degradation or a fight were the only alt
natives, he would fight.

In the afternoon Shields and Whiteside arrived, and v
soon the former sent to Mr. Lincoln, by the latter, the follc
ing note or letter:—

TREMONT, September 17, 18

A. LINCOLN, ESQ.:—I regret that my absence on public busir
compelled me to postpone a matter of private consideratio
little longer than I could have desired. It will only be necess
however, to account for it by informing you that I have beer
Quincy on business that would not admit of delay. I will
state briefly the reasons of my troubling you with this commun

, the disagreeable nature of which I regret, as I had hoped avoid any difficulty with any one in Springfield while residing re, by endeavoring to conduct myself in such a way amongst n my political friends and opponents, as to escape the necessity any. Whilst thus abstaining from giving provocation, I have ome the object of slander, vituperation, and personal abuse ch were I capable of submitting to, I would prove myself rthy of the whole of it.

In two or three of the last numbers of the *Sangamon Journal*, cles of the most personal nature, and calculated to degrade have made their appearance. On inquiring, I was informed the editor of that paper, through the medium of my friend, neral Whiteside, that you are the author of those articles. This ormation satisfies me that I have become, by some means or er, the object of secret hostility. I will not take the trouble inquiring into the reason of all this, but I will take the liberty requiring a full, positive, and absolute retraction of all of- sive allusions used by you in these communications, in relation my private character and standing as a man, as an apology for insults conveyed in them.

This may prevent consequences which no one will regret more n myself.

Your ob't serv't,

JAS. SHIELDS.

About sunset, General Whiteside called again, and secured m Mr. Lincoln the following answer to Mr. Shield's note:—

TREMONT, September 17, 1842.

JAS. SHIELDS, ESQ.:—Your note of today was handed me General Whiteside. In that note you say you have been in- med, through the medium of the editor of the *Journal*, that m the author of certain articles in that paper which you deem sonally abusive of you; and, without stopping to inquire whether eally am the author, or to point out what is offensive in n, you demand an unqualified retraction of all that is offensive, then proceed to hint at consequences.

Now, sir, there is in this so much assumption of facts, and much of menace as to consequences, that I cannot submit to wer that note any further than I have, and to add, that the sequences to which I suppose you allude would be matter of great regret to me as it possibly could to you.

Respectfully,

A. LINCOLN.

n about an hour, General Whiteside called again with ther note from Mr. Shields; but after conferring with Butler for a long time, say two or three hours, returned

without presenting the note to Mr. Lincoln. This was in co
sequence of an assurance from Mr. Butler that Mr. Linc
could not receive any communication from Mr. Shields, u
less it were a withdrawal of his first note, or a challen
Mr. Butler further stated to General Whiteside, that, on t
withdrawal of the first note, and a proper and gentlema
request for an explanation, he had no doubt one would
given. General Whiteside admitted that that was the cou
Mr. Shields ought to pursue, but deplored that his furi
and intractable temper prevented his having any influe
with him to that end. General Whiteside then requested
to wait with him until Monday morning, that he might
deavor to bring Mr. Shields to reason.

On Monday morning he called and presented Mr. Linc
the same note as Mr. Butler says he had brought on Saturd
evening. It was as follows:—

TREMONT, September 17, 18

A. LINCOLN, ESQ.:—In your reply to my note of this da
you intimate that I assume facts and menace consequen
and that you cannot submit to answer it further. As now,
you desire it, I will be a little more particular. The editor
the *Sangamon Journal* gave me to understand that you are
author of an article which appeared, I think, in that paper
the 2d September inst., headed "The Lost Townships" and sig
Rebecca or 'Becca. I would therefore take the liberty of ask
whether you are the author of said article, or any other of
same signature which has appeared in any of the late numb
of that paper. If so, I repeat my request of an absolute retract
of all offensive allusions contained therein in relation to
private character and standing.

If you are not the author of any of the articles, your de
will be sufficient. I will say further, it is not my intention
menace, but to do myself justice.

Your ob't serv't,

JAS. SHIELD

This Mr. Lincoln perused, and returned to General Wh
side, telling him verbally, that he did not think it consis
with his honor to negotiate for peace with Mr. Shields, un
Mr. Shields would withdraw his former offensive letter.

In a very short time General Whiteside called with a
from Mr. Shields, designating General Whiteside as
friend, to which Mr. Lincoln instantly replied designating

his. On meeting General Whiteside, he proposed that we uld pledge our honor to each other that we would endeavor settle the matter amicably; to which I agreed, and stated to the only conditions on which it could be settled; viz., the hdrawal of Mr. Shield's first note, which he appeared to nk reasonable, and regretted that the note had been written, ing however, that he had endeavored to prevail on Mr. ields to write a milder one, but had not succeeded. He led, too, that I must promise not to mention it, as he would dare to let Mr. Shields know that he was negotiating ce; for, said he, "He would challenge me next, and as soon my throat as not." Not willing that he should suppose principal less dangerous than his own, I promised not to ntion our pacific intentions to Mr. Lincoln or any other son; and we started for Springfield forthwith.

We all, except Mr. Shields, arrived in Springfield late at ht on Monday. We discovered that the affair had, some- w, got great publicity in Springfield, and that an arrest was bable. To prevent this, it was agreed by Mr. Lincoln and self that he should leave early on Tuesday morning. Ac- dingly, he prepared the following instructions for my ide, on a suggestion from Mr. Butler that he had reason to ieve that an attempt would be made by the opposite party have the matter accommodated:

'In case Whiteside shall signify a wish to adjust this affair hout further difficulty, let him know that, if the present ers be withdrawn, and a note from Mr. Shields asking to w if I am the author of the articles of which he complains, l asking that I shall make him gentlemanly satisfaction if m the author, and this without menace or dictation as to at that satisfaction shall be, a pledge is made that the fol- ing answer shall be given:

' 'I did write the "Lost Township" letter which appeared in *Journal* of the 2d inst., but had no participation in any m in any other article alluding to you. I wrote that wholly political effect. I had no intention of injuring your per- al or private character, or standing as a man or a gentle- n; and I did not then think, and do not now think, that that icle could produce, or has produced, that effect against you; l had I anticipated such an effect, I would have forborne to ite it. And I will add, that your conduct towards me, so as I knew, had always been gentlemanly, and that I had personal pique against you, and no cause for any.'

"If this should be done, I leave it with you to manage wh
shall and what shall not be published.

"If nothing like this is done, the preliminaries of the fig
are to be:

"1st. Weapons:—Cavalry broadswords of the largest si
precisely equal in all respects, and such as now used by t
cavalry company at Jacksonville.

"2d. Position:—A plank ten feet long, and from nine
twelve inches broad, to be firmly fixed on edge on the grou
as the line between us, which neither is to pass his foot ov
upon forfeit of his life. Next, a line drawn on the ground
either side of said plank and parallel with it, each at the d
tance of the whole length of the sword and three feet ad
tional from the plank; and the passing of his own such li
by either party during the fight shall be deemed a surrend
of the contest.

"3d. Time:—On Thursday evening at five o'clock, if y
can get it so; but in no case to be at a greater distance
time than Friday evening at 5 o'clock.

"4th. Place:—Within three miles of Alton, on the oppos
side of the river, the particular spot to be agreed on by y

"Any preliminary details coming within the above rules, y
are at liberty to make at your discretion; but you are in
case to swerve from these rules, or to pass beyond their limit

In the course of the forenoon I met General Whiteside, a
he again intimated a wish to adjust the matter amicably.
then read to him Mr. Lincoln instructions to an adjustme
and the terms of the hostile meeting, if there must be one, b
at the same time.

He replied that it was useless to talk of an adjustment
it could only be effected by the withdrawal of Mr. Shiel
paper, for such withdrawal Mr. Shields would never cons
to; adding, that he would as soon think of asking Mr. Shie
to "butt his brains out against a brick wall as to withdr
that paper." He proceeded: "I see but one course—that i
desperate remedy: 'tis to tell them, if they will not make
matter up, they must fight us." I replied, that, if he chose
fight Mr. Shields to compel him to do right, he might do
but as for Mr. Lincoln, he was on the defensive, and, I belie
in the right, and I should do nothing to compel him to
wrong. Such withdrawal having been made indispensable
Mr. Lincoln, I cut the matter short as to an adjustment,
I proposed to General Whiteside to accept the terms of

ht, which he refused to do until Mr. Shields' arrival in vn, but agreed, verbally, that Mr. Lincoln's friends should ocure the broadswords, and take them to the ground. In afternoon he came to me, saying that some persons were earing out affidavits to have us arrested, and that he in- ded to meet Mr. Shields immediately, and proceed to the ce designated, lamenting, however, that I would not delay time, that he might procure the interference of Governor rd and General Ewing to mollify Mr. Shields. I told him t an accommodation, except upon the terms I mentioned, s out of question; that to delay the meeting was to facilitate arrest; and, as I was determined not to be arrested, I uld leave the town in fifteen minutes. I then pressed his eptance of the preliminaries, which he disclaimed upon the und that it would interfere with his oath of office as Fund mmissioner. I then, with two other friends, went to Jack- nville, where we joined Mr. Lincoln about 11 o'clock on esday night. Wednesday morning we procured the broad- ords, and proceeded to Alton, where we arrived about 11 lock A. M., on Thursday. The other party were in town fore us. We crossed the river, and they soon followed. ortly after, General Hardin and Dr. English presented to neral Whiteside and myself the following note:

ALTON, September 22, 1842.

MESSRS. WHITESIDE AND MERRYMAN:—As the mutual personal ends of Messrs. Shields and Lincoln, but without authority m either, we earnestly desire to see a reconciliation of the understanding which exists between them. Such difficulties uld always be arranged amicably, if it is possible to do so h honor to both parties.

Believing, ourselves, that such an arrangement can possibly effected, we respectfully but earnestly submit the following position for your consideration:

Let the whole difficulty be submitted to four or more gentle- n, to be selected by ourselves, who shall consider the affair, report thereupon for your consideration.

JOHN J. HARDIN,
R. W. ENGLISH.

To this proposition General Whiteside agreed: I declined ng so without consulting Mr. Lincoln. Mr. Lincoln re- rked that, as they had accepted the proposition, he would so, but directed that his friends should make no terms

except those first proposed. Whether the adjustment wa finally made upon these very terms and no other, let the fo lowing documents attest:

MISSOURI, September 22, 184

GENTLEMEN:—All papers in relation to the matter in co troversy between Mr. Shields and Mr. Lincoln having been wit drawn by the friends of the parties concerned, the friends of M Shields ask the friends of Mr. Lincoln to explain all offensi matter in the articles which appeared in the *Sangamon Journ* of the 2d, 9th, and 16th of September, under the signature "Rebecca," and headed "Lost Townships."

It is due General Hardin and Mr. English to state that the interference was of the most courteous and gentlemanly chara ter.

JOHN D. WHITESIDE.
WM. LEE D. EWING.
T. M. HOPE.

MISSOURI, September 22, 184

GENTLEMEN:—All papers in relation to the matter in co troversy between Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Shields having be withdrawn by the friends of the parties concerned, we, the u dersigned, friends of Mr. Lincoln, in accordance with your reque that explanation of Mr. Lincoln's publication in relation to M Shields in the *Sangamon Journal* of the 2d, 9th, and 16th September be made, take pleasure in saying, that, although M Lincoln was the writer of the article signed "Rebecca" in t *Journal* of the 2d, and that only, yet he had no intention of i juring the personal or private character or standing of M Shields as a gentleman or a man, and that Mr. Lincoln did n think, nor does he now think, that said article could produce su an effect; and, had Mr. Lincoln anticipated such an effect, would have forborne to write it. We will state further, th said article was written solely for political effect, and not gratify any personal pique against Mr. Shields, for he had no and knew of no cause for any. It is due to General Hardin a Mr. English to say that their interference was of the most cou eous and gentlemanly character.

E. H. MERRYMAN
A. T. BLEDSOE.
WM. BUTTLER.

Let it be observed now, that Mr. Shields' friends, af agreeing to the arbitrament of four disinterested gentlem declined the contract, saying that Mr. Shields wished his o friends to act for him. They then proposed that we sho

plain without any withdrawal of papers. This was promptly
d firmly refused, and General Whiteside himself pronounced
e papers withdrawn. They then produced a note requesting
to "disavow" all offensive intentions in the publications,
., etc. This we declined answering, and only responded to
above request for an explanation.

These are the material facts in relation to the matter, and
think present the case in a very different light from the
bled and curtailed statement of General Whiteside. Why
made that statement I know not, unless he wished to de-
ct from the honor of Mr. Lincoln. This was ungenerous,
re particularly as he on the ground requested us not to
ke in our explanation any quotations from the "Rebecca
ers;" also, not to make public the terms of reconciliation,
l to unite with them in defending the honorable character
the adjustment.

General Whiteside, in his publication, says: "The friends
both parties agreed to withdraw the papers (temporarily)
give the friends of Mr. Lincoln an opportunity to explain."
is I deny. I say the papers were withdrawn to enable Mr.
ields's friends to ask an explanation; and I appeal to the
cuments for proof of my position.

By looking over these documents, it will be seen that Mr.
ields had not before asked for an explanation, but had all
time been dictatorially insisting on a retraction.

General Whiteside, in his communication, brings to light
ch of Mr. Shields's manifestations of bravery behind the
nes. I can do nothing of the kind for Mr. Lincoln. He
k his stand when I first met him at Tremont, and main-
ned it calmly to the last, without difficulty or difference
ween himself and his friends.

I cannot close this article, lengthy as it is, without testifying
the honorable and gentlemanly conduct of General Ewing
l Dr. Hope, nor indeed can I say that I saw anything ob-
tionable in the course of General Whiteside up to the time
his communication. This is so replete with prevarication
l misrepresentation, that I cannot accord to the General
t candor which I once supposed him to possess. He com-
ins that I did not procrastinate time according to agree-
nt. He forgets that by his own act he cut me off from that
nce in inducing me, by promise, not to communicate our
ret contract to Mr. Lincoln. Moreover, I could see no con-
ency in wishing for an extension of time at that stage of

the affair, when in the outset they were in so precipitate hurry that they could not wait three days for Mr. Lincoln return from Tremont, but must hasten there, apparently w the intention of bringing the matter to a speedy issue. complains, too, that, after inviting him to take a seat in buggy I never broached the subject to him on our route he But was I, the defendant in the case, with a challenge ha ing over me, to make advances, and beg a reconciliation?

Absurd! Moreover, the valorous General forgets that beguiled the tedium of the journey by recounting to me exploits in many a well-fought battle,—dangers by "flood a field," in which I don't believe he ever participated,—doubtl with a view to produce a salutary effect on my nerves, a impress me with a proper notion of his fire-eating propensiti

One more main point of his argument and I have do The General seems to be troubled with a convenient shortn of memory on some occasions. He does not remember t any explanations were offered at any time, unless it were paper read when the "broadsword proposition" was tender when his mind was so confused by the anticipated clatter broadswords, or something else, that he did "not know fu what it purported to be." The truth is, that, by unwis refraining from mentioning it to his principal, he placed h self in a dilemma which he is now endeavoring to shuffle of. By his inefficiency and want of knowledge of those la which govern gentlemen in matters of this kind, he has d great injustice to his principal, a gentleman who, I belie is ready at all times to vindicate his honor manfully, but has been unfortunate in the selection of his friends, and fault he is now trying to wipe out by doing an act of greater injustice to Mr. Lincoln.

E. H. Merryman

Dr. Merryman's elaborate and graphic account of meeting at the duelling ground and all the prelimin proceedings is as full and complete a history of this se comic affair as any historian could give. Mr. Linc as mentioned in the outset of this chapter, in the law fice and elsewhere, as a rule, refrained from discuss it. I only remember of hearing him say this, in refere to the duel: "I did not intend to hurt Shields unles did so clearly in self-defense. If it had been necessa could have split him from the crown of his head to the

his backbone"; and when one takes into consideration conditions of weapons and position required in his instructions to Dr. Merryman the boast does not seem impossible.

The following letter from Lincoln to his friend Speed finishes the final outcome of the "duelling business."

SPRINGFIELD, October 4, 1842.

AR SPEED:—

ou have heard of my duel with Shields, and I have now inform you that the duelling business still rages in this . Day before yesterday Shields challenged Butler, who epted, proposed fighting next morning at sunrise in Bob en's meadow, one hundred yards distance, with rifles. this Whiteside, Shields's second, said 'no' because of the . Thus ended duel No. 2. Yesterday Whiteside chose to sider himself insulted by Dr. Merryman, so sent him a d of quasi-challenge inviting him to meet him at the Plant- House in St. Louis, on the next Friday, to settle their iculty. Merryman made me his friend, and sent White- e a note, inquiring to know if he meant his note as a chal- ge, and if so, that he would, according to the law in such e made and provided, prescribe the terms of the meeting. iteside returned for answer that if Merryman would meet at the Planter's House as desired, he would challenge . Merryman replied in a note, that he denied Whiteside's ht to dictate time and place, but that he (Merryman) would ve the question of time, and meet him at Louisiana, Mo. on my presenting his note to Whiteside, and stating verbally contents, he declined receiving it, saying he had business St. Louis, and it was as near as Louisiana. Merryman directed me to notify Whiteside that he should publish correspondence between them, with such comments as he fit. This I did. Thus it stood at bed-time last night. s morning Whiteside, by his friend Shields, is praying a new trial, on the ground that he was mistaken in Merry- n's proposition to meet him at Louisiana, Mo., thinking it the State of Louisiana. This Merryman hoots at, and is paring his publication; while the town is in a ferment, and treet-fight somewhat anticipated.

Yours forever,

LINCOLN.

The marriage of Lincoln in no way diminished his lo
for politics; in fact, as we shall see later along, it serv
to stimulate his zeal in that direction. He embraced eve
opportunity that offered for a speech in public. Early
1842 he entered into the Washington movement organiz
to suppress the evils of intemperance. At the request
the society he delivered an admirable address, on Was
ington's birthday, in the Presbyterian Church, which,
keeping with former efforts, has been so often publish
that I need not quote it in full.[17] I was then an ardent te
perance reformer myself, and remember well how o
paragraph of Lincoln's speech offended the church me
bers who were present. Speaking of certain Christia
who objected to the association of drunkards, even wi
the chance of reforming them, he said: "If they (t
Christians) believe, as they profess, that Omnipoten
condescended to take on himself the form of sinful ma
and as such die an ignominious death, surely they w
not refuse submission to the infinitely lesser condesce
sion, for the temporal and perhaps eternal salvation
a large, erring, and unfortunate class of their fello
creatures. Nor is the condescension very great. In
judgment such of us as have never fallen victims ha
been spared more from the absence of appetite than fr
any mental or moral superiority over those who ha
Indeed, I believe, if we take habitual drunkards as a cla
their heads and their hearts will bear an advantage
comparison with those of any other class." The avo
of these sentiments proved to be an unfortunate thi
for Lincoln. The professing Christians regarded the s
picion suggested in the first sentence as a reflection on
sincerity of their belief, and the last one had no bet
effect in reconciling them to his views. I was at the d
of the church as the people passed out, and heard th

[17] Lincoln's address was a plea to all to support the tempera
movement by joining the Washington Society, regardless
whether or not they had been users of liquor. The strength
the movement is evident from an announcement in the *Sang*
Journal, three months after Lincoln's speech, that the Springf
Society then numbered 700 members.

scussing the speech. Many of them were open in the pression of their displeasure. "It's a shame," I heard e man say, "that he should be permitted to abuse us so the house of the Lord." The truth was the society was mposed mainly of the roughs and drunkards of the wn, who had evinced a desire to reform. Many of them ere too fresh from the gutter to be taken at once into e society of such people as worshipped at the church here the speech was delivered. Neither was there that ncert of effort so universal today between the churches d temperance societies to rescue the fallen. The whole ing, I repeat, was damaging to Lincoln, and gave rise the opposition on the part of the churches which con- onted him several years afterwards when he became a ndidate against the noted Peter Cartwright for Con- ess. The charge, therefore, that in matters of religion was a skeptic was not without its supporters, especially here his opponent was himself a preacher. But, nothing unted, Lincoln kept on and labored zealously in the in- rest of the temperance movement. He spoke often gain in Springfield, and also in other places over the untry, displaying the same courage and adherence to inciple that characterized his every undertaking.

Meanwhile, he had one eye open for politics as he moved ong. He was growing more self-reliant in the practice law every day, and felt amply able to take charge of d maintain himself in any case that happened to come to his hands. His propensity for the narration of an apt ory was of immeasurable aid to him before a jury, and in ses where the law seemed to lean towards the other side on him many a case. In 1842, Martin Van Buren, who d just left the Presidential chair, made a journey through e West. He was accompanied by his former Secretary the Navy, Mr. Paulding, and in June they reached the llage of Rochester, distant from Springfield six miles.[18]

[18] The *Illinois State Register* for June 24, 1842, thus describes n Buren's arrival in Springfield: "The Ex-President accom- nied by Judge Whitcomb of Indiana, arrived in Springfield on t Friday morning, [June 17]; and our citizens, laying aside all

It was evening when they arrived, and on account of th muddy roads they decided to go no farther, but to re there for the night. Word was sent into Springfield, an of course the leading Democrats of the capital hurried ou to meet the distinguished visitor. Knowing the accom modations at Rochester were not intended for or suite to the entertainment of an ex-President, they took wi them refreshments in quantity and variety, to make u for all deficiencies. Among others, they prevailed o Lincoln, although an ardent and pronounced Whig, to a company them. They introduced him to the venerab statesman of Kinderhook as a representative lawyer, an a man whose wit was as ready as his store of anecdot was exhaustless. How he succeeded in entertaining th visitor and the company, those who were present ha often since testified. Van Buren himself entertained th crowd with reminiscences of politics in New York, goi back to the days of Hamilton and Burr, and many of th crowd in turn interested him with graphic descriptions early life on the western frontier. But they all yield at last to the piquancy and force of Lincoln's queer stori "Of these," relates Joseph Gillespie, one of the compan "there was a constant supply, one following another rapid succession, each more irresistible than its predecesso The fun continued until after midnight, and until the di tinguished traveller insisted that his sides were sore fro laughing." The yarns which Lincoln gravely spun ou Van Buren assured the crowd, he never would forget.

party considerations, cordially united in greeting him with a hea welcome. Never have we seen a public man so warmly recei by his fellow-citizens.—But two days' notice of his expected rival was given, and that notice had but a limited circulation, several thousand persons awaited his arrival near the city.— had reached Rochester (eight miles from Springfield) on evening previous, where many of our people from the surround country had the pleasure of taking him by the hand. He remai over night at that place, at the house of Mr. Doty."

Van Buren remained in Springfield three days. "He w through the various rooms of the State House on Saturday, on Sunday visited the Methodist Church in the morning and Second Presbyterian in the afternoon."

After April 14, 1841, when Lincoln retired from the rtnership with Stuart, who had gone to Congress, he d been associated with Stephen T. Logan, a man who d, as he deserved, the reputation of being the best *nisi us* lawyer in the State. Judge Logan was a very orderly t somewhat technical lawyer. He had some fondness politics, and made one race for Congress, but he ked the elements of a successful politician. He was eated, and returned to the law. He was assiduous study and tireless in search of legal principles. He s industrious and very thrifty, delighted to make and e money, and died a rich man. Lincoln had none of gan's qualities. He was anything but studious, and had money sense. He was five years younger, and yet his nd and makeup so impressed Logan that he was invited o the partnership with him. Logan's example had a od effect on Lincoln, and it stimulated him to unusual leavors. For the first time he realized the effectiveness order and method in work, but his old habits eventually ercame him. He permitted his partner to do all the dying in the preparation of cases, while he himself sted to his general knowledge of the law and the in- ration of the surroundings to overcome the judge or jury. Logan was scrupulously exact, and used extra- linary care in the preparation of papers. His words re well chosen, and his style of composition was stately l formal. This extended even to his letters. This ncoln lacked in every particular. I have before me a er written by Lincoln at this time to the proprietors a wholesale store in Louisville, for whom suit had been ught, in which, after notifying the latter of the sale of tain real estate in satisfaction of their judgment, he ls: "As to the real estate we cannot attend to it. We not real estate agents, we are lawyers. We recommend t you give the charge of it to Mr. Isaac S. Britton, a stworthy man, and one whom the Lord made on pur- e for such business." He gravely signs the firm name, gan and Lincoln, to this unlawyerlike letter and sends on its way. Logan never would have written such a

letter. He had too much gravity and austere dignity permit any such looseness of expression in letters to h clients or to anyone else.

[Logan's estimate of Lincoln as a lawyer has recent come to light. "Lincoln's knowledge of law was ve small when I took him in," he wrote. "I don't think studied very much. I think he learned his law more in t study of cases. He would work hard and learn all the was in a case he had in hand. He got to be a pretty go lawyer though his general knowledge of law was nev very formidable. But he would study out his case a make about as much of it as anybody. After a while began to pick up a considerable ambition in the law. didn't have confidence enough at first. . . .

"Both he and Baker were exceedingly useful to me getting the good will of juries. Lincoln seemed to p himself at once on an equality with everybody—never course while they were outrageous, never while they we drunk or noisy, or anything of the kind. . . .

"Lincoln was growing all the time, from the time I fi knew him. He was not much of a reader. Lincoln w never what might be called a very industrious reader. B he would get a case and try to know all there was co nected with it; and in that way before he left this count he got to be quite a formidable lawyer.

"But he had this one peculiarity: he couldn't fight in bad case.

"So far as his reading knowledge of law went he h a quite unusual grasp of the principles involved. Wh he was with me, I have seen him get a case and seem to bewildered at first, but he would go at it and after a wh he would master it. He was very tenacious in his gra of a thing that he once got hold of." [19]]

In 1843, Logan and Lincoln both had their eyes on the race for Congress. Logan's claim to the honor in his age and the services he had rendered the Wh party, while Lincoln, overflowing with ambition, lay gr

[19] *Bulletin*, Lincoln Centennial Association (now Abraham L coln Association), Sept. 1, 1928.

ess on his legislative achievements, and demanded it
ause he had been defeated in the nominating conven-
ns by both Hardin and Baker in the order named.
at two such aspiring politicians, each striving to obtain
same prize, should not dwell harmoniously together
the same office is not strange. Indeed, we may reason-
y credit the story that they considered themselves rivals,
! that numerous acrimonious passages took place be-
en them. I was not surprised, therefore, one morning,
see Mr. Lincoln come rushing up into my quarters and
h more or less agitation tell me he had determined to
er the partnership with Logan. I confess I was sur-
sed when he invited me to become his partner. I was
ng in the practice and was painfully aware of my
nt of ability and experience; but when he remarked in
earnest, honest way, "Billy, I can trust you, if you
trust me," I felt relieved, and accepted the generous
posal. It has always been a matter of pride with me
t during our long partnership, continuing on until it
s dissolved by the bullet of the assassin Booth, we
er had any personal controversy or disagreement. I
er stood in his way for political honors or office, and
elieve we understood each other perfectly. In after
rs, when he became more prominent, and our practice
w to respectable proportions, other ambitious practition-
undertook to supplant me in the partnership. One of
latter, more zealous than wise, charged that I was in a
tain way weakening the influence of the firm. I am
tered to know that Lincoln turned on this last named
ividual with the retort, "I know my own business, I
kon. I know Billy Herndon better than anybody, and
n if what you say of him is true I intend to stick by
."

In the light of what is now known it is almost certain
t the rumors of a rift between Logan and Lincoln—
ch Herndon credited—were without foundation.
ely the contest for the Congressional nomination in
3 could have caused no trouble, for the Logan-Lincoln
tnership was not terminated until late in 1844. The

exact date is uncertain. Herndon was not admitted
the bar until December 9, 1844, but nine years later Li
coln himself referred to the partnership as having co
menced in "the autumn of 1844."

In view of these facts there seems to be no reason f
doubting Logan's statement regarding the termination
his partnership with Lincoln. "Our law partnership co
tinued perhaps three years," he said. "I then told hi
that I wished to take in my son David with me who h
meanwhile grown up, and Lincoln was perhaps by th
time quite willing to begin on his own account. So
talked the matter over and dissolved the partnersh
amicably and in friendship."[20]]

Lincoln's effort to obtain the Congressional nominati
in 1843 brought out several unique and amusing incident
He and Edward D. Baker were the two aspirants fr
Sangamon County, but Baker's long residence, extensi
acquaintance, and general popularity were obstacles Li
coln could not overcome; accordingly, at the last mome
Lincoln reluctantly withdrew from the field. In a letter
his friend Speed, dated March 24, 1843, he describes t
situation as follows: "We had a meeting of the Whigs
the county here on last Monday, to appoint delegates
a district convention; and Baker beat me, and got the del
gation instructed to go for him. The meeting, in spite
my attempt to decline it, appointed me one of the del
gates; so that in getting Baker the nomination I shall
fixed a good deal like a fellow who is made groomsm
to a man that has cut him out, and is marrying his o
dear gal." Only a few days before this he had writt
a friend, Richard S. Thomas of Virginia, Illinois, an
the Congressional matter, "Now if you should hear any o
say that Lincoln don't want to go to Congress, I wish y
as a personal friend of mine, would tell him you ha
reason to believe he is mistaken. The truth is I wo
like to go very much. Still, circumstances may happ
which may prevent my being a candidate. If there
any who be my friends in such an enterprise, what I n

[20] *Bulletin,* Lincoln Centennial Association, Sept. 1, 1928.

nt is that they shall not throw me away just yet." To other friend, Martin M. Morris, in the adjoining county Menard a few days after the meeting of the Whigs in ngamon, he explains how Baker defeated him.

The entire absence of any feeling of bitterness, or what politicians call revenge, is the most striking feature of letter. "It is truly gratifying," he says, "to me to rn that while the people of Sangamon have cast me off, old friends of Menard, who have known me longest l best, stick to me. It would astonish if not amuse the er citizens to learn that I (a strange, friendless, un-icated, penniless boy, working on a flat-boat at ten lars per month) have been put down here as the candi-e of pride, wealth, and aristocratic family distinction. t so, chiefly, it was. There was, too, the strangest com-ation of church influence against me. Baker is a Camp-lite, and therefore as I suppose, with few exceptions, all that church. My wife has some relations in the esbyterian churches and some with the Episcopalian urches, and therefore, wherever it would tell, I was set wn as either the one or the other, while it was every-ere contended that no Christian ought to go for me, ause I belonged to no church, was suspected of being leist, and had talked about fighting a duel. With all se things Baker, of course, had nothing to do; nor do omplain of them. As to his own church going for him hink that was right enough; and as to the influences I ve spoken of in the other, though they were very ong, it would be grossly untrue and unjust to charge t they acted upon them in a body, or were very near I only mean that those influences levied a tax of con-erable per cent. and throughout the religious contro-sy." To a proposition offering to instruct the Menard egation for him he replies: "You say you shall instruct ur delegates for me unless I object. I certainly shall object. That would be too pleasant a compliment for to tread in the dust. And besides, if anything should pen (which, however, is not probable) by which Baker uld be thrown out of the fight, I would be at liberty

to accept the nomination if I could get it. I do, howeve
feel myself bound not to hinder him in any way from ge
ting the nomination. I should despise myself were I
attempt it."

Baker's friends had used as an argument against Li
coln that he belonged to a proud and aristocratic famil
referring doubtless to some of the distinguished relativ
who were connected with him by marriage. The sto
reaching Lincoln's ears, he laughed heartily over it o
day in a Springfield store and remarked:

"That sounds strange to me, for I do not rememb
of but one who ever came to see me, and while he was
town he was accused of stealing a jew's-harp." In t
convention which was held shortly after at the town
Pekin neither Baker nor Lincoln obtained the covet
honor; but John J. Hardin, of Morgan, destined to lo
his life at the head of an Illinois regiment in the Mexic
war, was nominated, and in the following August, elect
by a good majority. Lincoln bore his defeat manful
He was no doubt greatly disappointed, but by no mea
soured. He conceived the strange notion that the pu
licity given his so-called "aristocratic family distinctio
would cost him the friendship of his humbler constituer
—his Clary's Grove friends. He took his friend Jam
Matheny out into the woods with him one day and, ca
ing up the bitter features of the canvass, protested "v
hemently and with great emphasis" that he was anythi
but aristocratic and proud. "Why, Jim," he said, "I a
now and always shall be the same Abe Lincoln I was wh
you first saw me."

In the campaign of 1844 Lincoln filled the honoral
post of Presidential elector, and he extended the limits
his acquaintance by stumping the State. This was t
year the gallant and magnetic Clay went down in defe
Lincoln, in the latter end of the canvass, crossed over i
Indiana and made several speeches. He spoke at Roc
port and also at Gentryville, where he met the Grigsb
the Gentrys, and other friends of his boyhood. The
sult of the election was a severe disappointment to M

coln as well as to all other Whigs. No election since foundation of the Government created more wide-ead regret than the defeat of Clay by Polk. Men were er before so enlisted in any man's cause, and when the at Whig chieftain went down his followers fled from field in utter demoralization. Some doubted the suc- of popular government, while others, more hopeful in the face of the general disaster, vowed they would er shave their faces or cut their hair till Henry Clay ime President. As late as 1880 I saw one man who lived up to his insane resolution. One political society anized to aid Clay's election sent the defeated candi- an address, in which they assured him that, after smoke of battle had cleared away, he would ever be embered as one "whose name honored defeat and gave glory which victory could not have brought." In coln's case his disappointment was no greater than of any other Whig. Many persons have yielded to impression that Mr. Lincoln visited Clay at his home in ington and felt a personal loss in his defeat, but such ot the case. He took no more gloomy view of the ation than the rest of his party. He had been a leading re himself in other campaigns, and was fully inured he chilling blasts of defeat. They may have driven in, but only for a short time, for he soon evinced a ingness to test the temper of the winds again.

No sooner had Baker been elected to Congress in Au- 1844, than Lincoln began to manifest a longing for tempting prize to be contended for in 1846. Hardin Baker both having been required to content themselves a single term each, the struggle among Whig aspirants owed down to Logan and Lincoln. The latter's claim ned to find such favorable lodgment with the party kers, and his popularity seemed so apparent, that Logan realized his own want of strength and abandoned field to his late law partner.

The Whig candidates for Congress in the Springfield rict "rotated" in the following order: Baker succeeded din in 1844, Lincoln was elected in 1846, and Logan

was nominated but defeated in 1848. Lincoln publi declined to contest the nomination with Baker in 184 Hardin did the same for Lincoln in 1846—although bo seem to have acted reluctantly; and Lincoln refused run against Logan in 1848. Many persons insist that agreement among these four conspicuous Whig leaders content themselves with one term each actually existe There is, however, no proof of any bargain, althou there seems to have been a tacit understanding of t kind—maintained probably to keep other and less tractal candidates out of the field.[21]

[The real struggle for the nomination in 1846 was b tween Lincoln and Hardin, who, elected in 1843, had giv way to Baker the following year. Both men, having h a taste of life in Washington, threatened to oppose Li coln for the nomination in 1846. Lincoln successfu induced Baker to decline a renomination, but Hardin w determined upon a contest. Soon after Baker's wit drawal Hardin proposed to Lincoln that the conventi system of nominations be discarded and a new plan, mo favorable to his own chances, be substituted. Linco rejected the proposal. Hardin remonstrated, and Linco answered in a long, candid letter which throws mu light on his political methods.

"In the early part of your letter," Lincoln remin Hardin, "you introduce the proposition made by me you and Baker, that we should take a turn a piece; a alluding to the principle you suppose be involved in it, an after part of your letter you say—'As a whig I ha constantly combatted such practices when practiced amo the Locos; & I do not see that they are any more prai worthy, or less anti-republican, when sought to be adopt by whigs.' Now, if my proposition had been that (yourself, Baker & I) should be candidates by turns, a that we should unite our strength throughout to keep do all other candidates, I should not deny the justice of censurable language you employ; but if you so understo it, you wholly misunderstood it. I never expressed,

[21] Original footnote.

ant to express, that by such an arrangement, any of us uld be, in the least restricted in his right to support person he might choose, in the District; but only he should not *himself,* be a candidate out of his turn. lt then, and it seems to me I *said* then, that even with h an arrangement, should Governor Duncan be a can- ite, when you were not, it would be your *privilege* and haps your duty to go for him.

In this, the true sense of my proposition," Lincoln de- es, "I deny that there is any thing censurable in it— thing but a spirit of mutual concession, for harmony's e.

In this same connection," he reminds Hardin again, u say, 'It is, in effect, acting upon the principle that District is a horse which each candidate may mount ride a two mile heat without consulting any body but grooms & Jockeys.' Well, of course, you go on the trary of this principle; which is, in effect acting on principle that the District is a horse which, the first ey that can mount him, may whip and spur round round, till jockey, or horse, or both, fall dead on the k. And upon your principle, there is a fact as fatal our claims as mine, which is, that neither you nor I, *Baker* is the jockey now in the stirrups.

'Without consulting any body but the grooms & eys' is an implied charge that I wish, in some way nterfere with the right of the people to select their lidate. I do not understand it so. I, and my few nds say to the people that 'Turn about is fair play.' and your friends do not meet this, and say 'Turn ut is *not* fair play'—but insist the argument itself nt not to be used. Fair or unfair, why not trust the ple to decide it?"

n conclusion, Lincoln makes a forceful plea for Har- s withdrawal from the contest. "I believe you do not n to be unjust, or ungenerous;" he remarks, "and I, efore am slow to believe that you will not think er and think *differently* of this matter."

A few days later Hardin wrote a public letter declini
longer to be considered a candidate.[22]]

The convention which nominated Lincoln met at Pete
burg May 1, 1846. Hardin, who, in violation of what w
then regarded as precedent, had been seeking the nomi
tion, had courteously withdrawn. Logan, ambitious
secure the honor next time for himself, with appare
generosity presented Lincoln's name to the conventi
and there being no other candidate he was chosen una
mously. The reader need not be told whom the Dem
crats placed in the field against him. It was Peter Ca
wright, the famous Methodist divine and circuit rid
An energetic canvass of three months followed, duri
which Lincoln kept his forces well in hand. He w
active and alert, speaking everywhere, and abandoni
his share of business in the law office entirely. He h
a formidable competitor in Cartwright, who not only h
an extensive following by reason of his church influen
but rallied many more supporters around his standard
his pronounced Jacksonian attitude. He had come i
Illinois with the early immigrants from Kentucky a
Tennessee, and had at one time or another preached
almost every Methodist congregation between Springfi
and Cairo. He had extensive family connections all o
the district, was almost twenty-five years older than L
coln, and in every respect a dangerous antagonist. A
other thing which operated much to Lincoln's disadvant
was the report circulated by Cartwright's friends with
spect to Lincoln's religious views. He was charged w
the grave offence of infidelity, and sentiments which
was reported to have expressed with reference to the
spiration of the Bible were given the campaign varn
and passed from hand to hand. His slighting allus
expressed in the address at the Presbyterian Church
fore the Washington Temperance Society, February
four years before, to the insincerity of the Christian p
ple was not forgotten. It, too, played its part; but
these opposing circumstances were of no avail. C

[22] Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln.* pp. 22-28.

ght was personally very popular, but it was plain the ple of the Springfield district wanted no preacher to resent them in Congress. They believed in an absolute ration of Church and State. The election, therefore, such a man as Cartwright would not, to their way of king, tend to promote such a result. I was enthu- ic and active in Lincoln's interest myself. The very ight of my associate's becoming a member of Con- s was a great stimulus to my self-importance. Many r friends in and around Springfield were equally as ant, and, in the language of another, "long before the est closed we snuffed approaching victory in the air." laborious efforts met with a suitable reward. Lin- was elected by a majority of 1511 in the district, a er vote than Clay's two years before, which was only In Sangamon County his majority was 690, and ex- ed that of any of his predecessors on the Whig ticket, mencing with Stuart in 1834 and continuing on down he days of Yates in 1852.

efore Lincoln's departure for Washington to enter on duties as a member of Congress, the Mexican war had un. The volunteers had gone forward, and at the l of the regiments from Illinois some of the bravest and the best legal talent in Springfield had marched. din, Baker, Bissell, and even the dramatic Shields had sted. The issues of the war and the manner of its ecution were in every man's mouth. Naturally, there- , a Congressman-elect would be expected to publish views and define his position early in the day. Al- gh, in common with the Whig party, opposing the aration of war, Lincoln, now that hostilities had com- ced, urged a vigorous prosecution. He admonished us o permit our Government to suffer no dishonor, and and by the flag till peace came and came honorably to He declared these sentiments in a speech at a public ting in Springfield, May 29, 1847. In the following ember he took his seat in Congress. He was the only g from Illinois. His colleagues in the Illinois dele- on were John A. McClernand, O. B. Ficklin, William

A. Richardson, Thomas J. Turner, Robert Smith, a John Wentworth. In the Senate Douglas had made appearance for the first time. The Little Giant is alw in sight! Robert C. Winthrop, of Massachusetts, chosen Speaker. John Quincy Adams, Horace Ma Caleb Smith, Alexander H. Stephens, Robert Toom Howell Cobb, and Andrew Johnson were important me bers of the House. With many of these the newly elec member from Illinois was destined to sustain anot and far different relation.

On the 5th of December, the day before the Ho organized, Lincoln wrote me a letter about our fee i law-suit and reported the result of the Whig caucus night before. On the 13th he wrote again: "Dear W liam:—Your letter, advising me of the receipt of our in the bank case, is just received, and I don't expect hear another as good a piece of news from Springf while I am away." He then directed me from the proce of this fee to pay a debt at the bank, and out of the ance left to settle sundry dry-goods and grocery b The modest tone of the last paragraph is its most strik feature. "As you are all so anxious for me to distingu myself," he said, "I have concluded to do so before lon January 8 he writes: "As to speech-making, by way getting the hang of the House, I made a little speech or three days ago on a post-office question of no gen interest. I find speaking here and elsewhere about same thing. I was about as badly scared, and no wo as I am when I speak in court. I expect to make within a week or two in which I hope to succeed enough to wish you to see it." Meanwhile, in recogni of the assurances I had sent him from friends who sired to approve his course by a reëlection, he says: is very pleasant to me to learn from you that there some who desire that I should be reëlected. I r heartily thank them for the kind partiality, and I can as Mr. Clay said of the annexation of Texas, that, ' sonally, I would not object' to a reëlection, althoug thought at the time, and still think, it would be quit

for me to return to the law at the end of a single
n. I made the declaration that I would not be a candi-
again, more from a wish to deal fairly with others,
eep peace among our friends, and to keep the district
n going to the enemy, than for any cause personal to
elf, so that if it should happen that nobody else wishes
e elected I could not refuse the people the right of
ing me again. But to enter myself as a competitor
thers, or to authorize any one so to enter me, is
t my word and honor forbid."

is announcement of a willingness to accept a reëlec-
if tendered him by the people was altogether unneces-
, for within a few days after this letter was written
constituents began to manifest symptoms of grave
pproval of his course on the Mexican war question.
position on this subject was evidenced by certain reso-
ns offered by him in the House three weeks before.
se latter were called the "Spot Resolutions," and they
the speech which followed on the 12th of January in
ort of them not only sealed Lincoln's doom as a Con-
sman, but in my opinion, lost the district to the Whigs
848, when Judge Logan had succeeded at last in ob-
ng the nomination.

lthough differing with the President as to the justice
ven propriety of a war with Mexico, Lincoln was not
illing to vote, and with the majority of his party did
, the supplies necessary to carry it on. He did this,
ever, with great reluctance, protesting all the while
"the war was unnecessarily and unconstitutionally
n by the President." The "Spot Resolutions," which
ed as a text for his speech on the 12th of January,
which caused such unwonted annoyance in the ranks
is constituents, were a series following a preamble
ed with quotations from the President's messages.
se resolutions requested the President to inform the
se: *"First.* Whether the *spot* on which the blood of
citizens was shed as in his messages declared was
as not within the territory of Spain, at least after the
y of 1819, until the Mexican revolution. *Second.*

Whether that spot is or is not within the territory wh
was wrested from Spain by the revolutionary gove
ment of Mexico. *Third.* Whether that spot is or is
within a settlement of people, which settlement has
isted ever since long before the Texas revolution,
until its inhabitants fled before the approach of the Un
States army." There were eight of these interrogato
but it is only necessary to reproduce the three which f
shadow the position Lincoln was then intending to
sume. On the 12th of January, as before stated,
followed them up with a carefully prepared and
arranged speech, in which he made a severe arraignm
of President Polk and justified the pertinence and
priety of the inquiries he had a few days before addre
to him. The speech is too long for insertion here.
was constructed much after the manner of a legal a
ment. Reviewing the evidence furnished by the Presi
in his various messages, he undertook to "smoke him
with this: "Let the President answer the interrogato
I proposed, as before mentioned, or other similar o
Let him answer fully, fairly, candidly. Let him ans
with facts, not with arguments. Let him remember
sits where Washington sat; and so remembering, let
answer as Washington would answer. As a nation sh
not, and the Almighty will not, be evaded, so let him
tempt no evasion, no equivocation. And if, so answe
he can show the soil was ours where the first blood of
war was shed; that it was not within an inhabited cou
or if within such; that the inhabitants had subm
themselves to the civil authority of Texas or of the U
States; and that the same is true of the site of
Brown, then I am with him for his justification . . .
if he cannot or will not do this—if, on any pretence, o
pretence, he shall refuse or omit it—then I shall be
convinced of what I more than suspect already—that
deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels
blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is cryin
Heaven against him; that he ordered General Taylor
the midst of a peaceful Mexican settlement purpose

g on a war; that, originally having some strong mo-
—which I will not now stop to give my opinion con-
ng—to involve the countries in a war, and trusting
cape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the ex-
ng brightness of military glory,—that attractive rain-
that rises in showers of blood, that serpent's eye that
ns to destroy,—he plunged into it, and has swept on
on, till disappointed in his calculation of the ease with
h Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself
ows not where. He is a bewildered, confounded, and
ably perplexed man. God grant that he may be able
ow that there is not something about his conscience
painful than all his mental perplexity." This speech,
ver clear may have been its reasoning, however rich
ustration, in restrained and burning earnestness, yet
unsuccessful in "smoking out" the President. He
ined within the official seclusion his position gave
and declined to answer.[23] In fact it is doubtless true
Lincoln anticipated no response, but simply took that
s of defining clearly his own position.

n the 19th inst., having occasion to write me with ref-
e to a note with which one of our clients, one Louis
ler, had been "annoying" him, "not the least of which
yance," he complains, "is his cursed unreadable and
dly handwriting," he adds a line, in which with notice-
modesty he informs me: "I have made a speech, a
of which I send you by mail." He doubtless felt he
taking rather advanced and perhaps questionable
nd. And so he was, for very soon after, murmurs
issatisfaction began to run through the Whig ranks.
not, as some of Lincoln's biographers would have
readers believe, inaugurate this feeling of dissatis-
on. On the contrary, as the law partner of the Con-
man, and as his ardent admirer, I discouraged the
tion all I could. Still, when I listened to the com-
s of his friends everywhere after the delivery of
peech, I felt that he had made a mistake. I therefore

[23] Not a single mention of Lincoln is to be found in Polk's
inous diary.

wrote him to that effect, at the same time giving him
own views, which I knew were in full accord with
views of his Whig constituents. My argument in s
stance was: That the President of the United State
Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy; that
such commander it was his duty, in the absence of C
gress, if the country was about to be invaded and arm
were organized in Mexico for that purpose, to go-
necessary—into the very heart of Mexico and prev
the invasion. I argued further that it would be a cr
in the Executive to let the country be invaded in the l
degree. The action of the President was a necessity,
under a similar necessity years afterward Mr. Linc
himself emancipated the slaves, although he had no spe
power under the Constitution to do so. In later days
what is called the Hodges letter, concerning the freed
of the slaves, he used this language:

"I felt that measures otherwise unconstitutional mi
become lawful by becoming indispensable."

Briefly stated, that was the strain of my argument.
judgment was formed on the law of nations and of w
If the facts were as I believed them, and my premises
rect, then I assumed that the President's acts bec
lawful by becoming indispensable.

February 1 he wrote me, "Dear William: You
that you and I disagree about the war. I regret this,
because of any fear we shall remain disagreed after
have read this letter, but because if you misunderstan
fear other good friends may also."

Speaking of his vote in favor of the amendment to
supply bill proposed by George Ashmun, of Massac
setts, he continues:

"That vote affirms that the war was unnecessarily and
constitutionally commenced by the President; and I will s
my life that if you had been in my place you would have v
just as I did. Would you have voted what you felt and k
to be a lie? I know you would not. Would you have
out of the House,—skulked the vote? I expect not. If
had skulked one vote you would have had to skulk many

re the close of the session. Richardson's resolutions, in-
ced before I made any move or gave any vote upon the
ect, make the direct question of the justice of the war;
at no man can be silent if he would. You are compelled
eak; and your only alternative is to tell the truth or tell a
I cannot doubt which you would do . . . I do not mean
letter for the public, but for you. Before it reaches you
will have seen and read my pamphlet speech and per-
have been scared anew by it. After you get over your
read it over again, sentence by sentence, and tell me
stly what you think of it. I condensed all I could for
of being cut off by the hour rule; and when I got through
d spoken but forty-five minutes.

"Yours forever,

"A. LINCOLN."

digress from the Mexican war subject long enough
nsert, because in the order of time it belongs here, a
acteristic letter which he wrote me regarding a man
was destined at a later date to play a far different
in the national drama. Here it is:

"WASHINGTON, Feb. 2, 1848.

AR WILLIAM:

just take up my pen to say that Mr. Stephens, of Georgia,
tle, slim, pale-faced, consumptive man, with a voice like
n's, has just concluded the very best speech of an hour's
h I ever heard. My old, withered, dry eyes are full of
yet. If he writes it out anything like he delivered it
people shall see a good many copies of it.

"Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

VM. H. HERNDON, ESQ.

ebruary 15 he wrote me again in criticism of the
ident's invasion of foreign soil. He still believed the
cutive had exceeded the limit of his authority. "The
ision of the Constitution giving the war-making power
ongress," he insists, "was dictated, as I understand it,
ne following reasons; kings had always been involving
impoverishing their people in wars, pretending gen-

erally, if not always, that the good of the people was t
object. This, our convention understood to be the m
oppressive of all kingly oppressions; and they resolved
so frame the Constitution that no one man should h
the power of bringing this oppression upon us. But yo
view destroys the whole matter, and places our Presid
where kings have always stood."

In June the Whigs met in national convention at Phi
delphia to nominate a candidate for President. Linc
attended as a delegate. He advocated the nomination
Taylor because of his belief that he could be elected, a
was correspondingly averse to Clay because of the latte
signal defeat in 1844. In a letter from Washington
few days after the convention he predicts the election
"Old Rough." He says: "In my opinion we shall hav
most overwhelming glorious triumph. One unmistaka
sign is that all the odds and ends are with us—Ba
burners, Native Americans, Tyler-men, disappointed offi
seeking Locofocos, and the Lord knows what not .
Taylor's nomination takes the Locos on the blind side.
turns the war thunder against them. The war is now
them the gallows of Haman, which they built for us a
on which they are doomed to be hanged themselves."

Meanwhile, in spite of the hopeful view Lincoln seem
to take of the prospect, things in his own district were
exceedingly bad repair. I could not refrain from appr
ing him of the extensive defections from the pa
ranks, and the injury his course was doing him.
object in thus writing to him was not to threaten h
Lincoln was not a man who could be successfully thre
ened; one had to approach him from a different directi
I warned him of public disappointment over his cou
and I earnestly desired to prevent him from committ
what I believed to be political suicide. June 22d he
swered a letter I had written him on the 15th. He
just returned from a Whig caucus held in relation to
coming Presidential election. "The whole field of
nation was scanned; all is high hope and confidence,"

exultingly. "Illinois is expected to better her con-
n in this race. Under these circumstances judge how
trending it was to come to my room and find and
your discouraging letter of the 15th." But still he
not despair. "Now, as to the young men," he says,
must not wait to be brought forward by the older
. For instance, do you suppose that I should ever
got into notice if I had waited to be hunted up and
ed forward by older men? You young men get to-
er and form a Rough and Ready club, and have
lar meetings and speeches. Take in everybody that
can get . . . As you go along gather up all the
wd, wild boys about town, whether just of age or a
under age. Let every one play the part he can play
—some speak, some sing, and all halloo. Your meet-
will be of evenings; the older men and the women
go to hear you, so that it will not only contribute to
election of 'Old Zack,' but will be an interesting pas-
and improving to the faculties of all engaged." He
evidently endeavoring through me to rouse up all
enthusiasm among the youth of Springfield possible
er the circumstances. But I was disposed to take a
irited view of the situation, and therefore was not
y warmed up. I felt at this time, somewhat in advance
s occurrence, the death throes of the Whig party. I
not conceal my suspicions, and one of the Springfield
rs gave my sentiments liberal quotation in its columns.
t gloomy over the prospect, and cut out these news-
r slips and sent them to Lincoln. Accompanying
I wrote him a letter equally melancholy in tone,
which among other things I reflected severely on
stubbornness and bad judgment of the old fossils in
party, who were constantly holding the young men
. This brought from him a letter, July 10, 1848,
h is so clearly Lincolnian and so full of plain philos-
, that I copy it in full. Not the least singular of
his allusion to himself as an old man, although he
scarcely passed his thirty-ninth year.

"WASHINGTON, July 10, 184

"DEAR WILLIAM:

"Your letter covering the newspaper slips was received night. The subject of that letter is exceedingly painfu me, and I cannot but think there is some mistake in your pression of the motives of the old men. I suppose I am one of the old men; and I declare on my veracity, whic think is good with you, that nothing could afford me n satisfaction than to learn that you and others of my yo friends at home were doing battle in the contest and endea themselves to the people and taking a stand far above an have ever been able to reach in their admiration. I can conceive that other men feel differently. Of course I can demonstrate what I say; but I was young once, and I am I was never ungenerously thrust back. I hardly know w to say. The way for a young man to rise is to improve h self every way he can, never suspecting that anybody wi to hinder him. Allow me to assure you that suspicion jealousy never did help any man in any situation. There sometimes be ungenerous attempts to keep a young down; and they will succeed, too, if he allows his mind t diverted from its true channel to brood over the attempted jury. Cast about and see if this feeling has not injured e person you have ever known to fall into it.

"Now, in what I have said I am sure you will sus nothing but sincere friendship. I would save you from a error. You have been a laborious, studious young man. are far better informed on almost all subjects than I ever been. You cannot fail in any laudable object unless you a your mind to be improperly directed. I have some the vantage of you in the world's experience merely by b older; and it is this that induces me to advise.

"Your friend, as ever,

"A. LINCOLN

Before the close of the Congressional session he r two more speeches. One of these, which he hastene send home in pamphlet form, and which he supp "nobody will read," was devoted to the familiar su of internal improvements, and deserves only passing tion. The other, delivered on the 27th of July, was i way a masterpiece; and it is no stretch of the trut

ıy that while intended simply as a campaign document ıd devoid of any effort at classic oratory, it was, perhaps, ıe of the best speeches of the session. It is too extended ır insertion here without abridgment; but one who reads will lay it down convinced that Lincoln's ascendency for quarter of a century among the political spirits in Illiıis was by no means an accident; neither will the reader onder that Douglas, with all his forensic ability, averted, long as he could, a contest with a man whose plain, ıalytical reasoning was not less potent than his mingled ollery and caricature were effective. The speech in the ain is an arraignment of General Cass, the Democratic ndidate for President, who had already achieved great nown in the political world, principally on account of s career as a soldier in the war of 1812, and is a triıphant vindication of his Whig opponent, General aylor, who seemed to have had a less extensive knowlge of civil than of military affairs, and was discreetly lent about both. Lincoln caricatured the military preıtions of the Democratic candidate in picturesque style. his latter section of the speech has heretofore been nitted by most of Mr. Lincoln's biographers because of s glaring inappropriateness as a Congressional effort. I ıve always failed to see wherein its comparison with ores of others delivered in the halls of Congress since ıat time could in any way detract from the fame of Mr. incoln, and I therefore reproduce it here:

"But the gentleman from Georgia [Mr. Iverson] further ys, we have deserted all our principles, and taken shelter ıder General Taylor's military coat-tail; and he seems to ink this is exceedingly degrading. Well, as his faith is, so it unto him. But can he remember no other military coatil, under which a certain other party have been sheltering r near a quarter of a century? Has he no acquaintance with e ample military coat-tail of General Jackson? Does he ot know that his own party have run the last five Presidential ces under that coat-tail? and that they are now running the cth under the same cover? Yes, sir, that coat-tail was used ot only for General Jackson himself, but has been clung to

with the grip of death by every Democratic candidate si
You have never ventured, and dare not now venture from
der it. Your campaign papers have constantly been
Hickory's,' with rude likeness of the old general upon th
hickory poles and hickory brooms your never-ending embl
Mr. Polk himself was 'Young Hickory,' 'Little Hickory,
something so; and even now your campaign paper here is
claiming that Cass and Butler are of the 'Hickory str
No, sir, you dare not give it up. Like a horde of hu
ticks, you have stuck to the tail of the Hermitage lion to
end of his life; and you are still sticking to it, and drawi
loathsome sustenance from it, after he is dead. A fellow
advertised that he had made a discovery by which he c
make a new man out of an old man and have enough of
stuff left to make a little yellow dog. Just such a disco
has General Jackson's popularity been to you. You not
twice made Presidents of him out of it, but you have en
of the stuff left to make Presidents of several comparat
small men since; and it is your chief reliance now to
still another.

"Mr. Speaker, old horses and military coat-tails, or tai
any sort, are not figures of speech such as I would be the
to introduce into discussion here; but as the gentleman
Georgia has thought fit to introduce them, he and you
welcome to all you have made or can make by them. If
have any more old horses, trot them out; any more tails,
cock them and come at us. I repeat, I would not intro
this mode of discussion here; but I wish gentlemen on
other side to understand that the use of degrading figur
a game at which they may find themselves unable to tak
the winnings. [A voice 'No, we give it up'] Aye! you
it up, and well you may; but for a very different reason
that which you would have us understand. The point
power to hurt—of all figures consists in the truthfulne
their application; and, understanding this, you may well
it up. They are weapons which hit you, but miss us.

"But in my hurry I was very near closing on this su
of the military tails before I was done with it. There is
entire article of the sort I have not discussed yet; I mea
military tail you Democrats are now engaged in dovet
on to the great Michigander. Yes, sir, all his biogra
(and they are legion) have him in hand, tying him to a
tary tail, like so many mischievous boys tying a dog

ıdder of beans. True, the material is very limited, but they e at it might and main. He invaded Canada without resist-ce, and he outvaded it without pursuit. As he did both un-r orders, I suppose there was to him neither credit nor dis-edit; but they are made to constitute a large part of the tail. e was not at Hull's surrender, but he was close by; he was lunteer aid to General Harrison on the day of the battle of e Thames; and as you said in 1840 Harrison was picking ıortleberries two miles off while the battle was fought I sup-se it is a just conclusion with you to say Cass was aiding ırrison to pick whortleberries. This is about all, except the ɔoted question of the broken sword. Some authors say he oke it; some say he threw it away; and some others, who ght to know, say nothing about it. Perhaps it would be a r historical compromise to say if he did not break it, he did t do anything else with it.

"By the way, Mr. Speaker, did you know I am a military ro? Yes, sir, in the days of the Black Hawk war, I fought, ed, and came away. Speaking of General Cass's career, re-inds me of my own. I was not at Stillman's defeat, but I as about as near it as Cass was to Hull's surrender; and, like n, I saw the place very soon afterward. It is quite certain did not break my sword, for I had none to break, but I bent y musket pretty badly on one occasion. If Cass broke his ord, the idea is, he broke it in desperation; I bent the musket accident. If General Cass went in advance of me picking ıortleberries, I guess I surpassed him in charges upon the ld onions. If he saw any live fighting Indians, it was more an I did, but I had a good many bloody struggles with the ɔsquitos; and, although I never fainted from loss of blood, I n truly say I was often very hungry. Mr. Speaker, if ever should conclude to doff whatever our Democratic friends ay suppose there is of black-cockade Federalism about me, d, thereupon they shall take me up as their candidate for the residency, I protest that they shall not make fun of me as ey have of General Cass by attempting to write me into a ilitary hero."

After the adjournment of Congress on the 14th of ugust, Lincoln went through New York and some of e New England States making a number of speeches r Taylor, none of which, owing to the limited facilities tending newspaper reporting in that day, have been pre-

served. He returned to Illinois before the close of canvass and continued his efforts on the stump till a the election.

[Lincoln's tour through New England was prob an attempt to stop the serious inroads which the new Soil party, under the leadership of Van Buren, Sun and Charles Francis Adams, was making in the old W stronghold. He made his first speech at Worcester, M achusetts, on September 12, the evening before the W State Convention assembled there. He remained for convention, but took no part in its proceedings. A ward he spoke at Chelsea, Dedham, Cambridge and Lo and concluded his tour with an address in Boston on tember 22.

Herndon was not aware that Lincoln's speech Worcester had been reported with reasonable comp ness in the *Boston Advertiser*. The newspaper re shows that Lincoln singled out the Free Soilers for ticular attention. As to slavery, he said, "the peopl Illinois agreed entirely with the people of Massachu on this subject, except perhaps that they did not kee constantly thinking about it. All agreed that slavery an evil, but that we were not responsible for it and not affect it in states of this Union where we do not But, the question of the *extension* of slavery to new ritories of this country, is a part of our responsib and care, and is under our control."

Lincoln went on to claim that in opposing slavery tension the Whigs were far more effective than the Soilers. The election of Van Buren was impos therefore the Free Soilers were really contributing t election of Cass, under whom the extension of sla would meet no check. "General Taylor, he confid believed, would not encourage it, and would not prohib restriction."

The *Advertiser,* in accordance with the partisan cus described Lincoln's speech as "truly masterly and con ing."]

At the second session of Congress, which bega

ecember, he was less conspicuous than before. The few eeks spent with his constituents had perhaps taught him at in order to succeed as a Congressman it is not always e most politic thing to tell the truth because it is the uth, or to do right because it is right. With the open- g of Congress, by virtue of the election of Taylor, the higs obtained the ascendency in the control of govern- ental machinery. He attended to the duties of the Con- essional office diligently and with becoming modesty. e answered the letters of his constituents, sent them eir public documents, and looked after their pension aims. His only public act of any moment was a bill oking to the emancipation of the slaves in the District Columbia. He interested Joshua R. Giddings and others equally as pronounced anti-slavery views in the sub- ct, but his bill eventually found a lodgment on "the ble," where it was carefully but promptly laid by a vote the House.

[Slavery was the paramount subject of discussion dur- g the second session of the thirtieth Congress, and the olition of that institution in the District of Columbia as earnestly urged. It was as an amendment to a resolu- on instructing the Committee on the District of Colum- a to report a bill abolishing slavery there that Lincoln, January 10, 1849, read his own bill for accomplishing at purpose.

Lincoln sought to do away with slavery in the District a gradual process. Slaves held there were to continue servitude at their masters' will, but if any owner wished emancipate a slave he was to be compensated from e national treasury, the amount to be determined by a ard composed of the President, Secretary of State and cretary of the Treasury. Children born of slave mothers thin the District after January 1, 1850 were ultimately be free. Owners of the mothers were to support and ucate them, and they were obligated to serve as appren- es until a fixed age. Thus, in time, slavery would dis- pear. Public officials, however, were to be permitted bring with them and hold in slavery an adequate num-

ber of household servants; and provision was made
the return of fugitive slaves who should take refuge
the District. The final clause in the bill provided for
election at which the measure might be voted upon
all citizens of the District over twenty-one years of
who had lived there one year or more. If a majority f
ored it, the President was to put it in force at once
proclamation.

When he had finished reading his bill, Lincoln sta
that it had been submitted to and approved by "about
teen of the leading citizens of the District of Columbi
but he refused to give their names, and no more att
tion was paid to his own measure. On January 16
gave notice of a motion for leave to introduce it as a
but when the session ended on March 4, 1849 he had
done so."[24]]

Meanwhile, being chargeable with the distribution
official patronage, he began to flounder about in expla
tion of his action in a sea of seemingly endless perpl
ities. His recommendation of the appointment of T.
King to be Register or Receiver of the Land Office
produced no little discord among the other aspirants
the place. He wrote to a friend who endorsed and ur
the appointment, "either to admit it is wrong, or c
forward and sustain him." He then transmits to
same friend a scrap of paper—probably a few lines
proving the selection of King—which is to be copied in
friend's own handwriting. "Get everybody," he insi
"(not three or four, but three or four hundred) to
it, and then send it to me. Also have six, eight, or
of our best known Whig friends to write me additi
letters, stating the truth in this matter as they underst
it. Don't neglect or delay in the matter. I understa
he continues, "information of an indictment having
found against him three years ago for gaming or kee
a gaming house has been sent to the Department."
then closes with the comforting assurance: "I shall
to take care of it at the Department till your action

[24] See Beveridge, I., pp. 480 *et seq.*

: had and forwarded on." And still people insist that r. Lincoln was such a guileless man and so free from e politician's sagacity!

In June I wrote him regarding the case of one Walter avis, who was soured and disappointed because Lincoln d overlooked him in his recommendation for the Spring- ld post-office. "There must be some mistake," he re- onds on the 5th, "about Walter Davis saying I prom- d him the post-office. I did not so promise him. I did l him that if the distribution of the offices should fall into y hands he should have something; and if I shall be con- nced he has said any more than this I shall be disap- inted. I said this much to him because, as I under- nd, he is of good character, is one of the young men, of the mechanics, is always faithful and never trouble- me, a Whig, and is poor, with the support of a widow- other thrown almost exclusively on him by the death of s brother. If these are wrong reasons then I have been rong; but I have certainly not been selfish in it, be- use in my greatest need of friends he was against me d for Baker."

Judge Logan's defeat in 1848 left Lincoln still in a meas- e in charge of the patronage in his district. After his rm in Congress expired the "wriggle and struggle" for fice continued; and he was often appealed to for his fluence in obtaining, as he termed it, "a way to live ithout work." Occasionally, when hard pressed, he re- rted with bitter sarcasm. I append a letter written in is vein to a gentleman still living in central Illinois, who, suppose, would prefer that his name should be with- ld:[25]

"SPRINGFIELD, Dec. 15, 1849.

———Esq.

DEAR SIR:

"On my return from Kentucky I found your letter of the h of November, and have delayed answering it till now for e reason I now briefly state. From the beginning of our quaintance I had felt the greatest kindness for you and had

[25] The man was George W. Rives, of Paris, Illinois.

supposed it was reciprocated on your part. Last summ
under circumstances which I mentioned to you, I was pa
fully constrained to withhold a recommendation which you
sired, and shortly afterwards I learned, in such a way as
believe it, that you were indulging in open abuse of me.
course my feelings were wounded. On receiving your l
letter the question occurred whether you were attempting
use me at the same time you would injure me, or whether y
might not have been misrepresented to me. If the former
ought not to answer you; if the latter, I ought, and so I h
remained in suspense. I now enclose you the letter, wh
you may use if you see fit.

"Yours, etc.

"A. LINCOLN.

No doubt the man, when Lincoln declined at first
recommend him, did resort to more or less abuse. T
would have been natural, especially with an unsuccess
and disappointed office-seeker. I am inclined to the op
ion, and a careful reading of the letter will warrant
that Lincoln believed him guilty. If the recommendat
which Lincoln, after so much reluctance, gave was e
used to further the applicant's cause I do not know it.

With the close of Lincoln's Congressional career
drops out of sight as a political factor, and for the n
few years we take him up in another capacity. He
not solicit or contend for a renomination to Congress,
such was the unfortunate result of his position on pu
questions that it is doubtful if he could have succeeded
he done so.

H A P T E R T E N

TER THE WEDDING OF LINCOLN AND MISS TODD AT THE dwards mansion we hear but little of them as a married uple till the spring of 1843, when the husband writes his friend Speed, who had been joined to his "black-ed Fanny" a little over a year, with regard to his life a married man. "Are you possessing houses and lands," writes, "and oxen and asses and men-servants and aid-servants, and begetting sons and daughters? We are t keeping house, but boarding at the Globe Tavern, hich is very well kept now by a widow lady of the name Beck. Our room (the same Dr. Wallace occupied ere) and boarding only costs us four dollars a week." aining a livelihood was slow and discouraging business ith him, for we find him in another letter apologizing r his failure to visit Kentucky, "because," he says, "I n so poor and make so little headway in the world that drop back in a month of idleness as much as I gain in year's sowing." But by dint of untiring efforts and the cognition of influential friends he managed through rare ugality to move along. In his struggles, both in the law d for political advancement, his wife shared in his sacri-es. She was a plucky little woman, and in fact endowed ith a more restless ambition than he. She was gifted with rare insight into the motives that actuate mankind, and ere is no doubt that much of Lincoln's success was in a easure attributable to her acuteness and the stimulus her influence. His election to Congress within four ars after their marriage afforded her extreme gratifica-n. She loved power and prominence, and when occa-nally she came down to our office, it seemed to me then

that she was inordinately proud of her tall and ungai husband. She saw in him bright prospects ahead, and every move was watched by her with the closest intere If to other persons he seemed homely, to her he was embodiment of noble manhood, and each succeeding impressed upon her the wisdom of her choice of Linc over Douglas—if in reality she ever seriously accepted latter's attentions. "Mr. Lincoln may not be as handso a figure," she said one day in the office during her h band's absence, when the conversation turned on Doug "but the people are perhaps not aware that his heart is large as his arms are long."

Mrs. Lincoln accompanied her husband to Washing and remained during one session of Congress. While th they boarded at the same house with Joshua R. Giddin and when in 1856 the valiant old Abolitionist came to t part in the canvass in Illinois, he early sought out Linc with whom he had been so favorably impressed seve years before. On his way home from Congress Linc came by way of Niagara Falls and down Lake Erie Toledo or Detroit. It happened that, some time afte went to New York and also returned by way of Niag Falls. In the office, a few days after my return, I endeavoring to entertain my partner with an account of trip, and among other things described the Falls. In attempt I indulged in a good deal of imagery. A warmed up with the subject my descriptive powers panded accordingly. The mad rush of water, the roar, rapids, and the rainbow furnished me with an abunda of material for a stirring and impressive picture. recollection of the gigantic and awe-inspiring scene sti lated my exuberant powers to the highest pitch. A well-nigh exhausting myself in the effort I turned to L coln for his opinion. "What," I inquired, "made the de est impression on you when you stood in the presence the great natural wonder?" I shall never forget his ans because it in a very characteristic way illustrates how looked at everything. "The thing that struck me m

rcibly when I saw the Falls," he responded, "was, where the world did all that water come from?" He had no e for the magnificence and grandeur of the scene, for the pids, the mist, the angry waters, and the roar of the irlpool, but his mind, working in its accustomed channel, edless of beauty or awe, followed irresistibly back to the st cause. It was in this light he viewed every question. owever great the verbal foliage that concealed the naked- ss of a good idea Lincoln stripped it all down till he uld see clear the way between cause and effect. If there is any secret in his power this surely was it.

After seeing Niagara Falls he continued his journey meward. At some point on the way, the vessel on which had taken passage stranded on a sand bar. The captain dered the hands to collect all the loose planks, empty rrels and boxes and force them under the sides of the at. These empty casks were used to buoy it up. After rcing enough of them under the vessel she lifted gradu- y and at last swung clear of the opposing sand bar. Lin- ln had watched this operation very intently. It no doubt rried him back to the days of his navigation on the tur- lent Sangamon, when he and John Hanks had rendered nilar service at New Salem dam to their employer the latile Offut. Continual thinking on the subject of lift- g vessels over sand bars and other obstructions in the ter suggested to him the idea of inventing an apparatus r the purpose. Using the principle involved in the oper- on he had just witnessed, his plan was to attach a kind bellows on each side of the hull of the craft just below e water line, and by an odd system of ropes and pulleys, henever the keel grated on the sand these bellows were to filled with air, and thus buoyed up, the vessel was ex- cted to float clear of the shoal. On reaching home he at ce set to work to demonstrate the feasibility of his plan. alter Davis, a mechanic having a shop near our office, anted him the use of his tools, and likewise assisted him making the model of a miniature vessel with the arrange- nt as above described. Lincoln manifested ardent in-

terest in it. Occasionally he would bring the model in t
office, and while whittling on it would descant on its mer
and the revolution it was destined to work in steambo
navigation. Although I regarded the thing as impracti
ble I said nothing, probably out of respect for Lincol
well-known reputation as a boatman. The model was se
or taken by him to Washington, where a patent was issu
but the invention was never applied to any vessel, so far
I ever learned, and the threatened revolution in steambo
architecture and navigation never came to pass. T
model still reposes in undisturbed slumber on the shel
in the Patent Office, and is the only evidence now existi
of Lincoln's success as an inventor.

Following is a copy of Lincoln's application for t
patent on his "Improved Method of Lifting Vessels Ov
Shoals": "What I claim as my invention, and desire
secure by letters patent, is the combination of expansi
buoyant chambers placed at the sides of a vessel with t
main shaft or shafts by means of the sliding spars, wh
pass down through the buoyant chambers and are ma
fast to their bottoms and the series of ropes and pulleys
their equivalents in such a manner that by turning the m
shaft or shafts in one direction the buoyant chambers v
be forced downwards into the water, and at the same ti
expanded and filled with air for buoying up the vessel
the displacement of water, and by turning the shafts in
opposite direction the buoyant chambers will be contrac
into a small space and secured against injury. A. Lincol

Shortly before the close of his term in Congress
appears in a new role. Having failed of a re-election
became an applicant for the office of Commissioner of
General Land Office. He had been urged to this step
many of his Whig friends in Illinois, but he was so hedg
about with other aspirants from his own State that he s
lost all heart in the contest. He was too scrupulous,
lacked too much the essentials of self-confidence and p
sistence, to be a successful suitor for office. In a lette
Joshua Speed, who had written him of a favorable re

ce to him by Mr. Crittenden, of Kentucky,[1] he says, bruary 20, 1849, "I am flattered to learn that Mr. Crit-den has any recollection of me which is not unfavorable; l for the manifestation of your kindness towards me I cerely thank you. Still, there is nothing about me to thorize me to think of a first-class office, and a second-ss one would not compensate me for being sneered at others who want it for themselves. I believe that, so as the Whigs in Congress are concerned, I could have General Land Office almost by common consent; but n Sweet and Don Morrison and Browning and Cyrus lwards all want it, and what is worse, while I think I uld easily take it myself I fear I shall have trouble to get for any other man in Illinois. The reason is that cGaughey, an Indiana ex-member of Congress, is here er it, and being personally known he will be hard to beat any one who is not." But, as the sequel proved, there s no need to fear the Hoosier stateman, for although he d the endorsement of General Scott and others of equal fluence, yet he was left far behind in the race, and along th him Lincoln, Morrison, Browning, and Edwards. dark horse in the person of Justin Butterfield sprang o view, and with surprising facility captured the tempt-g prize. This latter and successful aspirant was a lawyer rather extensive practice and reputation in Chicago. He s shrewd, adroit, and gifted with a knowledge of what liticians would call good management—a quality or char-teristic in which Lincoln was strikingly deficient. He d endorsed the Mexican war, but strangely enough, had st none of his prestige with the Whigs on that account.[2]

[1] The original edition contains the following explanatory foot-te: "Lincoln had asked Speed to see Crittenden (then Governor Kentucky) and secure from the latter a recommendation for ker, who wanted a first-class foreign mission. Crittenden did t approve of Baker, but suggested that he would favor Lincoln, om he regarded as a rising man. Speed suggested to Lincoln apply for the place himself. 'I have pledged myself to Baker,' answered, 'and cannot under any circumstances consent to the e of my name so long as he is urged for the same place'."

[2] In the original edition Herndon printed the following letter om Butterfield's daughter:

[Lincoln's correspondence, with which Herndon w
only partly familiar, tells a somewhat different story of
attempt to secure the Commissionership of the Gene
Land Office. While Congress was still in session he h
pledged himself to work for the appointment of Cy
Edwards of Edwardsville, Illinois. When other applica
appeared, he agreed with E. D. Baker, recently elec
from the Sixth District, that if Edwards and J. L.
Morrison, of Belleville, could decide who would yield
the other, they would jointly support the applicant. Wh
a group of Lincoln's friends wrote him that they favo
him for the position, he answered that he was commit
to Edwards' candidacy; however, "if the office could
secured to Illinois only by my consent to accept it, and
otherwise, I give that consent."

But soon after his return to Washington it beca
evident, at least to Lincoln, that neither Edwards
Morrison had the slightest chance of securing the co
missionership. Justin Butterfield of Chicago had beco
an applicant, and Lincoln alone had a chance to defeat h
Accordingly, he set to work to secure endorsements of
own application, admitting Butterfield's qualifications
the office, but basing his own claim upon greater party se

"CHICAGO, Oct. 12th, 1

"MR. JESSE W. WEIK.

"DEAR SIR:

"My father was born in Keene, N. H., in 1790, entered W
liams College, 1807, and removed to Chicago in 1835. After
re-accession of the Whigs to power he was on the 21st of J
in 1849 appointed Commissioner of the Land Office by Presi
Taylor. A competitor for the position at that time was Abra
Lincoln, who was beaten, it was said, by 'the superior dispa
of Butterfield in reaching Washington by the Northern ro
but more correctly by the paramount influence of his friend Da
Webster.

"He held the position of Land Commissioner until disabled
paralysis in 1852. After lingering for three years in a disa
and enfeebled condition, he died at his home in Chicago, Oct
23d, 1855, in his sixty-third year.

"Very respectfully,

"ELIZABETH SAWYER

s. Butterfield's appointment, he maintained, would be remendous political blunder, being in effect the bestowal a valuable office upon one of the "old drones" of the ty, while the younger, active workers went unrewarded. Early in June, 1849, Lincoln decided that a trip to Washton was imperative if he were to secure the commisnership. To the accompaniment of Democratic jibes he out for the capital. It was too late, however. Power- backers—notably Henry Clay and Daniel Webster—re supporting Butterfield, and his appointment was soon nounced.

The lack of unanimous support for his own candidacy s an important cause of Lincoln's failure. Even in ringfield there were active enemies, twenty-eight Whig echanics" of that city signing a petition expressing disisfaction with "the course of Abraham Lincoln as a mber of Congress from this Congressional district," d recommending Justin Butterfield as "a suitable per- to occupy the office of Commisioner of the General nd Office." [3]]

The close of Congress and the inauguration of Taylor re the signal for Lincoln's departure from Washington. left with the comforting assurance that as an officeker he was by no means a success. Besides his lack of sistence, he had an unconscious feeling of superiority d pride that admitted of no such flexibility of opinion the professional suitor for office must have, in order to ceed. He remained but a few days at his home in nois, however, before he again set out for Washington. e administration of President Taylor feeling that some vard was due Lincoln for his heroic efforts on the stump d elsewhere in behalf of the Whig party and its meas-s, had offered him the office of either Governor or Secary of Oregon, and with the view of considering this d other offers he returned to Washington.[4] Lincoln

[3] See Beveridge, I., pp. 487-91; Angle, *New Letters and Papers Lincoln,* pp. 55-57.

[4] Lincoln's trip to Washington was a part of his attempt to ure the General Land Office. The Oregon appointment was ered at a later date.

used to relate of this last-named journey an amusing in
dent illustrating Kentucky hospitality. He set out fr
Ransdell's tavern in Springfield, early in the morning. T
only other passenger in the stage for a good portion of
distance was a Kentuckian, on his way home from M
souri. The latter, painfully impressed no doubt w
Lincoln's gravity and melancholy, undertook to relieve
general monotony of the ride by offering him a chew
tobacco. With a plain "No, sir, thank you; I never che
Lincoln declined, and a long period of silence follow
Later in the day the stranger, pulling from his pocke
leather-covered case, offered Lincoln a cigar, which he a
politely declined on the ground that he never smok
Finally, as they neared the station where horses were to
changed, the Kentuckian, pouring out a cup of bra
from a flask which had lain concealed in his satchel, offe
it to Lincoln with the remark, "Well, stranger, seeing
don't smoke or chew, perhaps you'll take a little of
French brandy. It's a prime article and a good appet
besides." His tall and uncommunicative companion
clined this last and best evidence of Kentucky hospita
on the same ground as the tobacco. When they separa
that afternoon, the Kentuckian, transferring to anot
stage, bound for Louisville, shook Lincoln warmly by
hand. "See here, stranger," he said, good-humore
"you're a clever, but strange companion. I may never
you again, and I don't want to offend you, but I wan
say this: my experience has taught me that a man who
no vices has d—d few virtues. Good-day." Lincoln
joyed this reminiscence of the journey, and took g
pleasure in relating it. During this same journey occu
an incident for which Thomas H. Nelson, of Terre Ha
Indiana, who was appointed Minister to Chili by Linc
when he was President, is authority. "In the spring
1849," relates Nelson, "Judge Abram Hammond, who
afterwards Governor of Indiana, and I arranged to
from Terre Haute to Indianapolis in the stage coach.
entire day was usually consumed in the journey. By
break the stage had arrived from the West, and as

pped in we discovered that the entire back seat was upied by a long, lank individual, whose head seemed protrude from one end of the coach and his feet from other. He was the sole occupant, and was sleeping ndly. Hammond slapped him familiarly on the ulder, and asked him if he had chartered the stage for day. The stranger, now wide awake, responded, 'Cer-nly not,' and at once took the front seat, politely sur-dering to us the place of honor and comfort. We took our travelling companion at a glance. A queer, odd-king fellow he was, dressed in a well worn and ill-fitting t of bombazine, without vest or cravat, and a twenty-e cent palm hat on the back of his head. His very minent features in repose seemed dull and expression-s. Regarding him as a good subject for merriment we petrated several jokes. He took them all with the nost innocence and good-nature, and joined in the laugh, hough at his own expense. At noon we stopped at a yside hostelry for dinner. We invited him to eat with and he approached the table as if he considered it a eat honor. He sat with about half his person on a small air, and held his hat under his arm during the meal. suming our journey after dinner, conversation drifted o a discussion of the comet, a subject that was then tating the scientific world, in which the stranger took deepest interest. He made many startling suggestions l asked many questions. We amazed him with words of rned length and thundering sound. After an astounding play of wordy pyrotechnics the dazed and bewildered anger asked: 'What is going to be the upshot of this net business?' I replied that I was not certain, in fact liffered from most scientists and philosophers, and was lined to the opinion that the world would follow the rned thing off! Late in the evening we reached Indian-olis, and hurried to Browning's hotel, losing sight of stranger altogether. We retired to our room to brush l wash away the dust of the journey. In a few minutes lescended to the portico, and there descried our long, omy fellow-traveller in the center of an admiring group

of lawyers, among whom were Judges McLean and Hu
ington, Edward Hannigan, Albert S. White, and Richa
W. Thompson, who seemed to be amused and interes
in a story he was telling. I inquired of Browning,
landlord, who he was. "Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois
member of Congress," was the response. I was thund
struck at the announcement. I hastened upstairs and t
Hammond the startling news, and together we emerg
from the hotel by a back door and went down an alley
another house, thus avoiding further contact with our n
distinguished fellow-traveler. Curiously enough, ye
after this, Hammond had vacated the office of Governor
Indiana a few days before Lincoln arrived in Indianapo
on his way to Washington to be inaugurated President.
had many opportunities after the stage ride to cultivate
Lincoln's acquaintance, and was a zealous advocate of
nomination and election to the Presidency. Before leavi
his home for Washington, Mr. Lincoln caused John
Usher and myself to be invited to accompany him.
agreed to join him in Indianapolis. On reaching t
city the Presidential party had already arrived, and up
inquiry we were informed that the President-elect was
the dining-room of the hotel, at supper. Passing throu
we saw that every seat at the numerous tables was occupi
but failed to find Mr. Lincoln. As we were nearing
door to the office of the hotel, a long arm reached to
shoulder and a shrill voice exclaimed, 'Hello, Nelson!
you think, after all, the world is going to follow
darned thing off?' It was Mr. Lincoln."

The benefits and advantages of the territorial po
offered by President Taylor to Lincoln were freely
cussed by the latter's friends. Some urged his accepta
on the usual ground that when Oregon was admitted a
State, he might be its first Senator. Lincoln himself
some inclination to accept. He told me himself that
felt by his course in Congress he had committed polit
suicide, and wanted to try a change of locality—hence
temptation to go to Oregon. But when he brought
proposition home to his fireside, his wife put her

arely down on it with a firm and emphatic No. That ays ended it with Lincoln. The result of the whole ng proved a fortunate deliverance for him, the propriety which became more apparent as the years rolled by.

About this time Grant Goodrich, a lawyer in Chicago, posed to take Lincoln into partnership with him. Good- n had an extensive and paying practice there, but Lin- n refused the offer, giving as a reason that he tended consumption, and, if he removed to a city like Chicago, would have to sit down and study harder than ever. e close application required of him and the confinement the office, he contended, would soon kill him. He pre- red going around on the circuit, and even if he earned aller fees he felt much happier.[5]

While a member of Congress and otherwise immersed politics Lincoln seemed to lose all interest in law. Of urse, what practice he himself controlled passed into er hands. I retained all the business I could, and rked steadily on until, when he returned, our practice s as extensive as that of any other firm at the bar. ncoln realized that much of this was due to my efforts, d on his return he therefore suggested that he had no ht to share in the business and profits which I had de. I responded that, as he had aided me and given prominence when I was young and needed it, I could ord now to be grateful if not generous. I therefore ommended a continuation of the partnership, and we nt on as before. I could notice a difference in Lin- n's movement as a lawyer from this time forward. He d begun to realize a certain lack of discipline—a want mental training and method. Ten years had wrought ne change in the law, and more in the lawyers, of nois. The conviction had settled in the minds of the ple that the pyrotechnics of court room and stump tory did not necessarily imply extensive or profound lity in the lawyer who resorted to it. The courts were oming graver and more learned, and the lawyer was

[5] Original footnote.

learning as a preliminary and indispensable condition
success that he must be a close reasoner, besides havi
at command a broad knowledge of the principles on whi
the statutory law is constructed. There was of cou
the same riding on circuit as before, but the courts h
improved in tone and morals, and there was less laxity
at least it appeared so to Lincoln. Political defeat h
wrought a marked effect on him. It went below the sk
and made a changed man of him. He was not sou
at his seeming political decline, but still he determined
eschew politics from that time forward and devote hi
self entirely to the law. And now he began to make
for time lost in politics by studying the law in earne
No man had greater power of application than he. O
fixing his mind on any subject, nothing could interf
with or disturb him. Frequently I would go out on
circuit with him. We, usually, at the little country in
occupied the same bed. In most cases the beds were
short for him, and his feet would hang over the flo
board, thus exposing a limited expanse of shin bo
Placing a candle on a chair at the head of the bed, he wo
read and study for hours. I have known him to stu
in this position till two o'clock in the morning. Me
while, I and others who chanced to occupy the same ro
would be safely and soundly asleep. On the circuit
this way he studied Euclid until he could with ease de
onstrate all the propositions in the six books. How
could maintain his mental equilibrium or concentrate
thoughts on an abstract mathematical proposition, wh
Davis, Logan, Swett, Edwards, and I so industriously a
volubly filled the air with our interminable snoring
a problem none of us could ever solve. I was on the
cuit with Lincoln probably one-fourth of the time.
remainder of my time was spent in Springfield look
after the business there, but I know that life on the
cuit was a gay one. It was rich with incidents, and
forded the nomadic lawyers ample relaxation from
the irksome toil that fell to their lot. Lincoln loved

ippose it would be a fair estimate to state that he spent
r half the year following Judges Treat and Davis
und on the circuit. On Saturdays the court and at-
neys, if within a reasonable distance, would usually
t for their homes. Some went for a fresh supply of
hing, but the greater number went simply to spend a
of rest with their families. The only exception was
coln, who usually spent his Sundays with the loungers
he country tavern, and only went home at the end of
circuit or term of court. "At first," relates one of
colleagues on the circuit (David Davis), "we wondered
t, but soon learned to account for his strange disinclina-
to go home. Lincoln himself never had much to say
ut home, and we never felt free to comment on it.
st of us had pleasant, inviting homes, and as we struck
for them I'm sure each one of us down in our hearts
a mingled feeling of pity and sympathy for him." If
day was long and he was oppressed, the feeling was
n relieved by the narration of a story. The tavern
ngers enjoyed it, and his melancholy, taking to itself
gs, seemed to fly away. In the rôle of a story-teller I am
ne to regard Mr. Lincoln as without an equal. I have
n him surrounded by a crowd numbering as many as
and in some cases three hundred persons, all deeply
erested in the outcome of a story which, when he had
shed it, speedily found repetition in every grocery and
nging place within reach. His power of mimicry, as
ave before noted, and his manner of recital, were in
ny respects unique, if not remarkable. His counte-

Prior to the '50's, when the main lines of most of the present road systems of Illinois were constructed, Lincoln could have little opportunity to return to his home on week-ends. While t of the lawyers of the circuit practiced only in counties cent to their own, he made the entire round. Since courts e held on both Saturday and Monday, distance prevented him n returning to Springfield except at long intervals, though r attorneys, living much nearer, might visit their families st every Sunday. As a matter of fact, as transportation ities improved Lincoln's absences became shorter and shorter.

nance and all his features seemed to take part in the p
formance. As he neared the pith or point of the j
or story every vestige of seriousness disappeared fr
his face. His little gray eyes sparkled; a smile seen
to gather up, curtain like, the corners of his mouth;
frame quivered with suppressed excitement; and wh
the point—or "nub" of the story, as he called it—ca
no one's laugh was heartier than his. These backwo
allegories are out of date now, and any lawyer, ambiti
to gain prominence, would hardly dare thus to entert
a crowd, except at the risk of his reputation; but w
Lincoln it gave him, in some mysterious way, a sin
larly firm hold on the people.

Lincoln was particularly strong in Menard County, a
while on the circuit there he met with William Engle a
James Murray, two men who were noted also for th
story-telling proclivities. I am not now asserting for
country and the period what would at a later day be c
sidered a very high standard of taste. Art had not s
patrons as today, but the people loved the beautiful
nature furnished it, and the good as they found it, w
as much devotion as the more refined classes now
joined to their idols. Newspapers were scarce, and
court-house, with its cluster of itinerant lawyers, disse
inated much of the information that was afterwa
broken up into smaller bits at the pioneer's fireside.
curious civilization indeed, but one through which ev
Western State distant from the great arterial river
seaboard has had to pass.

When Lincoln, Murray, and Engle met, there was s
to be a crowd. All were more or less masters in th
art. I have seen the little country tavern where these th
were wont to meet after an adjournment of court, crow
almost to suffocation with an audience of men who
gathered to witness the contest among the members
the strange triumvirate. The physicians of the town,
the lawyers, and not unfrequently a preacher could

ınd in the crowd that filled the doors and windows. e yarns they spun and the stories they told would not ır repetition here, but many of them had morals which, ile exposing the weaknesses of mankind, stung like a ip-lash. Some were no doubt a thousand years old, h just enough "verbal varnish" and alterations of names l dates to make them new and crisp. By virtue of the -named application, Lincoln was enabled to draw from zac a "droll story," and locating it in "Egypt" [7] or in iana, pass it off for a purely original conception. Ev- recital was followed by its "storm of laughter and rus of cheers." After this had all died down, some ortunate creature, through whose thickened skull the nt had just penetrated, would break out in a guffaw, ting another wave of laughter which, growing to the portions of a billow, would come rolling in like a itable breaker. I have known these story-telling jousts continue long after midnight—in some cases till the y small hours of the morning. I have seen Judge Treat, o was the very impersonation of gravity itself, sit up the last and laugh until, as he often expressed it, "he ıost shook his ribs loose." The next day he would end the bench and listen to Lincoln in a murder trial, h all the seeming severity of an English judge in wig l gown. Amid such surroundings, a leading figure in h society, alternately reciting the latest effusion of bar-room or mimicking the clownish antics of the ro minstrel, he who was destined to be an immortal ancipator, was steadily and unconsciously nearing the at trial of his life. We shall see further on how this e civilization crystallized both his logic and his wit use in another day.

Reverting again to Mr. Lincoln as a lawyer, it is proper ıdd that he detested the mechanical work of the office.

[7] The word Egypt, so frequently used in this book, refers to portion of Illinois which lies south of the famous National d.

He wrote few papers—less perhaps than any other man
the bar. Such work was usually left to me for the fi
few years we were together. Afterwards we made go
use of students who came to learn the law in our offi
A Chicago lawyer, Henry C. Whitney, in a letter to
about Mr. Lincoln, in 1866, says: "Lincoln once told
that he had taken you in as a partner, supposing you h
system and would keep things in order, but that he fou
out you had no more system than he had, but that you w
in reality a good lawyer, so that he was doubly dis
pointed." Lincoln knew no such thing as order or meth
in his law practice. He made no preparation in advan
but trusted to the hour for its inspiration and to Provide
for his supplies. In the matter of letter-writing he made
distinction between one of a business nature or any ot
kind. In 1842 he wrote Joshua Speed: "I wish you wo
learn of Everett what he would take, over and abov
discharge, for all trouble we have been at to take his bu
ness out of our hands and give it to somebody else.
is impossible to collect money on that or any other cla
here, now, and although you know I am not a very pe
lant man, I declare that I am almost out of patience w
Mr. Everett's endless importunities. It seems like he
only writes all the letters he can himself, but he g
everybody else in Louisville and vicinity to be constan
writing to us about his claim. I have always said t
Mr. Everett is a very clever fellow, and I am very sorry
cannot be obliged; but it does seem to me he ought
know we are interested to collect his claim, and theref
would do it if we could. I am neither joking nor i
pet when I say we would thank him to transfer his bu
ness to some other, without any compensation for w
we have done, provided he will see the court costs p

[8] I have seen hundreds of pleadings bearing the firm n
of Lincoln & Herndon. Even to the purely formal *prae*
the great majority—perhaps ninety per cent—are in Linc
handwriting. The balance are almost entirely in Herndon's
ing. Very rarely can one be identified as the work of a stu

which we are security."[9] If a happy thought of ex-sion struck him he was by no means reluctant to use it. early as 1839 he wrote to a gentleman about a er of business, observing crustily that "a d——d hawk-d Yankee is here besetting me at every turn I take, ng that Robert Kenzie never received the $80 to which was entitled." In July, 1851, he wrote a facetious sage to one of his clients, saying: "I have news from awa that we win our case. As the Dutch justice said n he married folks, 'Now where ish my hundred tol-'"

he following letter shows how Lincoln proposed to a vacancy in the office of Clerk of the United States rt. It reads like the letter of a politician in the midst a canvass for office:

"Springfield, Ill., December 6, 1854.

N. Justice McLean.

Sir: I understand it is in contemplation to displace the ent Clerk and appoint a new one for the Circuit and Dis- Courts of Illinois. I am very friendly to the present in-bent, and both for his own sake and that of his family, I him to be retained so long as it is possible for the Court o so.

n the contingency of his removal, however, I have recom-ded William Butler as his successor, and I do not wish t I write now to be taken as any abatement of that recom-dation.

William J. Black is also an applicant for the appointment, I write this at the solicitation of his friends to say that every way worthy of the office, and that I doubt not the erring it upon him will give great satisfaction.

"Your ob't servant,

"A. Lincoln."[10]

He was proverbially careless as to habits. In a letter fellow-lawyer in another town, apologizing for fail-

In the original edition Herndon used this quotation as a foot-

Original footnote.

ure to answer sooner, he explains: "First, I have b very busy in the United States Court; second, whe received the letter I put it in my old hat and buyin new one the next day the old one was set aside, and the letter was lost sight of for a time." This hat of L coln's—a silk plug—was an extraordinary receptacle. was his desk and his memorandum-book. In it he ried his bank book and the bulk of his letters. Whene in his reading or researches he wished to preserve idea, he jotted it down on an envelope or stray piece paper and placed it inside the lining. Afterwards w the memorandum was needed there was only one place look for it.

Lincoln had always on the top of our desk a bur of papers into which he slipped anything he wished keep and afterwards refer to. It was a receptacle of g eral information. Some years ago, on removing the f niture from the office, I took down the bundle and b from the top the liberal coat of dust that had accumula thereon. Immediately underneath the string was a bearing this endorsement, in his hand: "When you c find it anywhere else, look in this." [11]

How Lincoln appeared and acted in the law office been graphically and, I must confess, truthfully told b gentleman now in New York, who was for several y a student in our office. I beg to quote a few lines f him: "My brother met Mr. Lincoln in Ottawa, Ill.,[12] day, and said to him: 'I have a brother who I would much like to have enter your office as a student.' right!' was his reply; 'send him down and we will tal look at him.' I was then studying law at Grand Rap Mich., and on hearing from my brother I immedia packed up and started for Springfield. I arrived there Saturday night. On Sunday Mr. Lincoln was poi out to me. I well remember this first sight of him.

[11] *Ibid.*

[12] John H. Littlefield, *Brooklyn Eagle*, October 16, 1887.

striding along, holding little Tad, then about six years
by the hand, who could with the greatest difficulty
up with his father. In the morning I applied at the
e of Lincoln and Herndon for admission as a stu-
. The office was on the second floor of a brick build-
on the public square, opposite the court-house. You
up one flight of stairs and then passed along a hall-
to the rear office, which was a medium sized room.
re was one long table in the center of the room, and
orter one running in the opposite direction, forming
and both were covered with green baize. There were
windows which looked into the back yard. In one
er was an old-fashioned secretary with pigeon-holes
a drawer, and here Mr. Lincoln and his partner kept
law papers. There was also a book-case containing
t 200 volumes of law as well as miscellaneous books.
morning I entered the office Mr. Lincoln and his
ner, Mr. Herndon, were both present. Mr. Lincoln
essed his partner thus: 'Billy, this is the young man
hom I spoke to you. Whatever arrangement you make
him will be satisfactory to me.' Then, turning to
he said, 'I hope you will not become so enthusiastic in
studies of Blackstone and Kent as did two young
whom we had here. Do you see that spot over there?'
ting to a large ink stain on the wall. 'Well, one of
e young men got so enthusiastic in his pursuit of legal
that he fired an inkstand at the other one's head,
that is the mark he made.' I immediately began to
n up about the office a little. Mr. Lincoln had been
Congress and had the usual amount of seeds to dis-
ute to the farmers. These were sent out with Free
and Republican documents. In my efforts to clean
I found that some of the seeds had sprouted in the
that had collected in the office. Judge Logan and
on Hay occupied the front offices on the same floor
Lincoln and Herndon, and one day Mr. Hay came
nd said with apparent astonishment: 'What's happened
?' 'Oh, nothing,' replied Lincoln, pointing to me, 'only
young man has been cleaning up a little.' One of

Lincoln's striking characteristics was his simplicity, a
nowhere was this trait more strikingly exhibited than
his willingness to receive instruction from anybody a
everybody. One day he came into the office and address
his partner, said: 'Billy, what's the meaning of antithesi
Mr. Herndon gave him the definition of the word, a
I said: 'Mr. Lincoln, if you will allow me, I will give y
an example.' 'All right, John, go ahead,' said Mr. Linc
in his hearty manner. 'Phillips says, in his essay
Napoleon, "A pretended patriot, he impoverished the co
try; a professed Catholic, he imprisoned the Pope
etc. Mr. Lincoln thanked me and seemed very mu
pleased. Returning from off the circuit once he said
Mr. Herndon: 'Billy, I heard a good story while I w
up in the country. Judge D—— was complimenting
landlord on the excellence of his beef. "I am surprise
he said, "that you have such good beef. You must ha
to kill a whole critter when you want any." "Yes," s
the landlord, "we never kill less than a whole critter."'

"Lincoln's favorite position when unraveling so
knotty law point was to stretch both of his legs at
length upon a chair in front of him. In this position, w
books on the table near by and in his lap, he worked
his case. No matter how deeply interested in his work
any one came in he had something humorous and pleas
to say, and usually wound up by telling a joke or an an
dote. I have heard him relate the same story three tir
within as many hours to persons who came in at differ
periods, and every time he laughed as heartily and enjo
it as if it were a new story. His humor was infectio
I had to laugh because I thought it funny that Mr. Linc
enjoyed a story so repeatedly told.

"There was no order in the office at all. The firm
Lincoln and Herndon kept no books. They divided th
fees without taking any receipts or making any entries
books. One day Mr. Lincoln received $5,000 as a fe
a railroad case. He came in and said; 'Well, Billy,'
dressing his partner, Mr. Herndon, 'here is our fee;

n and let me divide.' He counted out $2,500 to his ner, and gave it to him with as much nonchalance as vould have given a few cents for a paper. Cupidity no abiding place in his nature.

took a good deal of pains in getting up a speech which nted to deliver during a political campaign. I told Mr. coln that I would like to read it to him. He sat down in chair, put his feet into another one, and said: 'John, can fire away with that speech; I guess I can stand it.' rolled the manuscript, and proceeded with some trep- on. 'That's a good point, John,' he would say, at ain places, and at others: 'That's good—very good ed,' until I felt very much elated over my effort. I vered the speech over fifty times during the campaign. er E. Ellsworth, afterwards colonel of the famous aves, who was killed in Alexandria, early in the war, nominally a student in Lincoln's office. His head so full of military matters, however, that he thought e of law. Of Ellsworth, Lincoln said: 'That young has a real genius for war!'"

uring the six years following his retirement from Con- s, Lincoln, realizing in a marked degree his want of ary knowledge, extended somewhat his research in that ction. He was naturally indisposed to undertake any- g that savored of exertion, but his brief public career exposed the limited area of his literary attainments. ng with his Euclid therefore he carried a well-worn of Shakespeare, in which he read no little in his leis- moments. "In travelling on the circuit," relates one of associates at the bar (Lawrence Weldon), "he was in abit of rising earlier than his brothers of the bar. On occasions he was wont to sit by the fire, having un- red the coals, and muse, and ponder, and soliloquize, ired, no doubt, by that strange psychological influence h is so poetically described by Poe in 'The Raven.' one of these occasions, at the town of Lincoln, sitting ne position described, he quoted aloud and at length poem called 'Immortality.' When he had finished he

was questioned as to the authorship and where it co
be found. He had forgotten the author, but said that
him it sounded as much like true poetry as anything
had ever heard. He was particularly pleased with the
two stanzas."

Beyond a limited acquaintance with Shakespeare, Byr
and Burns, Mr. Lincoln, comparatively speaking, had
knowledge of literature. He was familiar with the Bi
and now and then evinced a fancy for some poem or sh
sketch to which his attention was called by some one e
or which he happened to run across in his cursory read
of books or newspapers. He never in his life sat down
read a book through, and yet he could readily quote
number of passages from the few volumes whose pages
had hastily scanned. In addition to his well-known
for the poem "Immortality" or "Why should the Spirit
Mortal be Proud," he always had a great fondness
Oliver Wendell Holmes' "Last Leaf," the fourth sta
of which, beginning with the verse, "The mossy marb
rest," I have often heard him repeat. He once told me
a song a young lady had sung in his hearing at a t
when he was laboring under some dejection of spi
The lines struck his fancy, and although he did not kn
the singer—having heard her from the sidewalk as
passed her house—he sent her a request to write the l
out for him. Within a day or two he came into the of
carrying in his hand a delicately perfumed envelope wh
bore the address, "Mr. Lincoln—Present," in an unm
takable female hand. In it, written on gilt-edged pa
were the lines of the song. The plaintive strain of
piece and its melancholy sentiment struck a respon
chord in a heart already filled with gloom and sorr
Though ill-adapted to dissipate one's depression, someth
about it charmed Lincoln, and he read and re-read it
increasing relish. I had forgotten the circumstance
recently, when, in going over some old papers and let
turned over to me by Mr. Lincoln, I ran across the ma
script, and the incident was brought vividly to my m
The envelope, still retaining a faint reminder of the

ed scent given it thirty years before, bore the laconic rsement, "Poem—I like this," in the handwriting of Lincoln. Unfortunately no name accompanied the uscript, and unless the lady on seeing this chooses to e herself known, we shall probably not learn who the er was. The composition is headed, "The Inquiry." ve it to my musical friends to render it into song. Fol- ng are the lines:

l me, ye winged winds
t round my pathway roar,
ye not know some spot
ere mortals weep no more?
ne lone and pleasant vale
ne valley in the West,
ere, free from toil and pain,
e weary soul may rest?
e loud wind dwindled to a whisper low,
d sighed for pity as it answered, No.

l me, thou mighty deep,
ose billows round me play,
ows't thou some favored spot,
ne island far away,
ere weary man may find
e bliss for which he sighs;
ere sorrow never lives
d friendship never dies?
e loud waves rolling in perpetual flow
pped for awhile and sighed to answer, No.

d thou, serenest moon,
t with such holy face
st look upon the earth
eep in Night's embrace—
l me, in all thy round
st thou not seen some spot
ere miserable man
ght find a happier lot?
hind a cloud the moon withdrew in woe,
d a voice sweet but sad responded, No.

l me, my secret soul,
tell me, Hope and Faith,

Is there no resting-place
From sorrow, sin, and death?
Is there no happy spot
Where mortals may be blessed,
Where grief may find a balm
And weariness a rest?
Faith, Hope, and Love, best boon to mortals given,
Waved their bright wings and whispered, Yes, in Heave

Persons familiar with literature will recognize this a poem written by Charles Mackay, an English writer w represented a London newspaper in the United States d ing the Rebellion as its war correspondent. It was set music as a chant, and as such was frequently rendered public by the famous Hutchinson family of singers. doubt if Mr. Lincoln ever knew who wrote it.

Judge S. H. Treat, recently deceased, thus descri Lincoln's first appearance in the Supreme Court of I nois. "A case being called for hearing, Mr. Lincoln sta that he appeared for the appellant and was ready to p ceed with the argument. He then said: 'This is the f case I have ever had in this court, and I have theref examined it with great care. As the Court will perce by looking at the abstract of the record, the only quest in the case is one of authority. I have not been able to f any authority to sustain my side of the case, but I h found several cases directly in point on the other side. will now give these authorities to the Court, and then s mit the case." [18]

A lawyer in Beardstown (J. Henry Shaw) relates t "Lincoln came into my office one day with the remark see you've been suing some of my clients, and I've c down to see about it.' He had reference to a su

[18] John T. Richards (*Abraham Lincoln: The Lawyer-St man*, pp. 56-58) shows that this episode could not have occurr connection with Lincoln's first case before the Supreme C nor in connection with his first case before the court after Tr appointment as a Justice. In view of this fact, and becaus its general appearance of improbability, he describes it as a r a characterization which seems sound.

brought to enforce the specific performance of a con-
. I explained the case to him, and showed my proofs.
seemed surprised that I should deal so frankly with
. and said he would be as frank with me; that my
it was justly entitled to a decree, and he should so
esent it to the court; and that it was against his prin-
s to contest a clear matter of right. So my client got
ed for a farm which, had another lawyer been in Mr.
oln's place, would have been consumed by the costs
itigation for years, with the result probably the same
ie end." A young man once wrote to Lincoln, inquir-
for the best mode of obtaining a thorough knowledge
he law. "The mode is very simple," he responded,
ough laborious and tedious. It is only to get books and
l and study them carefully. Begin with Blackstone's
mmentaries, and after reading carefully through, say
e, take up Chitty's Pleadings, Greenleaf's Evidence,
Story's Equity in succession. Work, work, work, is
main thing."

incoln never believed in suing for a fee. If a client
ld not pay on request he never sought to enforce
ection.[14] I remember once a man who had been in-
ed for forgery or fraud employed us to defend him.
illness of the prosecuting attorney caused some delay
he case, and our client, becoming dissatisfied at our
luct of the case, hired some one else, who superseded
nost effectually. The defendant declining to pay us
fee demanded, on the ground that we had not repre-
ed him at the trial of the cause, I brought suit against
in Lincoln's absence and obtained judgment for our
After Lincoln's return from the circuit the fellow
ed him up and by means of a carefully constructed
prevailed on him to release the judgment without re-
ng a cent of pay. The man's unkind treatment of us

Lincoln sued for fees at least six different times. In view
e fact, however, that only one suit was brought in the name
incoln & Herndon, Herndon's contrary statement is not sur-
ng. See William H. Townsend, *Lincoln the Litigant.*

deserved no such mark of generosity from Lincoln, and he could not resist the appeal of any one in poverty want. He could never turn from a woman in tears have heard Lincoln say he thanked God that he was born a woman, because he could not refuse any req if it was not apparently dishonest.[15] It was no surpris me or any of his intimate friends that so many desig women with the conventional widow's weeds and e flowing tears overcame him in Washington. It was cult for him to detect an impostor, and hence it is not t marveled at that he cautioned his secretaries: "Keep t away—I cannot stand it."

On many questions I used to grow somewhat entl astic, adopting sometimes a lofty metaphor by way of bellishment. Lincoln once warned me: "Billy, don't s too high—aim lower and the common people will un stand you. They are the ones you want to reach—at they are the ones you ought to reach. The educated refined people will understand you any way. If you too high your ideas will go over the heads of the ma and only hit those who need no hitting." While it is that from his peculiar construction Lincoln dwelt ent in the head and in the land of thought, and while he physically a lazy man, yet he was intellectually energ he was not only energetic, but industrious; not only dustrious, but tireless; not only tireless, but indefatig Therefore if in debate with him a man stood on a ques able foundation he might well watch whereon he s Lincoln could look a long distance ahead and calculat triumph of right. With him justice and truth were mount. If to him a thing seemed untrue he could not i nature simulate truth. His retention by a man to de a lawsuit did not prevent him from throwing it up i most critical stage if he believed he was espousing an just cause. This extreme conscientiousness and disre of the alleged sacredness of the professional cloak ro him of much so-called success at the bar. He once

[15] This sentence was a footnote in the original edition.

one of our clients: "I do not think there is the least use doing anything more with your lawsuit. I not only do t think you are sure to gain it, but I do think you are re to lose it. Therefore the sooner it ends the better." essrs. Stuart and Edwards once brought a suit against a ent of ours which involved the title to considerable prop- ty. At that time we had only two or three terms of urt, and the docket was somewhat crowded. The plain- f's attorneys were pressing us for a trial, and we were ually as anxious to ward it off. What we wanted were ne and a continuance to the next term. We dared not ake an affidavit for continuance, founded on facts, be- use no such pertinent and material facts as the law ntemplated existed. Our case for the time seemed hope- ss. One morning, however, I accidentally overheard a mark from Stuart indicating his fear lest a certain fact ould happen to come into our possession. I felt some lief, and at once drew up a fictitious plea, averring as best could the substance of the doubts I knew existed in tuart's mind. The plea was as skilfully drawn as I knew w, and was framed as if we had the evidence to sustain The whole thing was a sham, but so constructed as to ork the desired continuance, because I knew that Stuart d Edwards believed the facts were as I pleaded them. his was done in the absence and without the knowledge Lincoln. The plea could not be demurred to, and the posing counsel dared not take issue on it. It perplexed em sorely. At length, before further steps were taken, incoln came into court. He looked carefully over all the pers in the case, as was his custom, and seeing my in- nious subterfuge, asked, "Is this seventh plea a good e?" Proud of the exhibition of my skill, I answered at it was. "But," he inquired, incredulously, "is it unded on fact?" I was obliged to respond in the nega- e, at the same time following up my answer with an planation of what I had overheard Stuart intimate, and how these alleged facts could be called facts if a certain nstruction were put upon them. I insisted that our posi-

tion was justifiable, and that our client must have tim be ruined. I could see at once it failed to strike Lincol just right. He scratched his head thoughtfully and as "Hadn't we better withdraw that plea? You know it sham, and a sham is very often but another name for a Don't let it go on record. The cursed thing may c staring us in the face long after this suit has been gotten." The plea was withdrawn. By some agenc not our own—the case was continued and our client's terests were saved. I only relate this incident to illust Lincoln's far-seeing capacity; it serves to show how o cautious he seemed to be with regard to how his re might look in the future. I venture the assertion tha was the only member of the bar in Springfield who w have taken such a conscientious view of the matter.

One phase of Lincoln's character, almost lost sight o the commonly accepted belief in his humility and ki feeling under all circumstances, was his righteous indi tion when aroused. In such cases he was the most fea man I ever knew. I remember a murder case in which appeared for the defense, and during the trial of which judge—a man of ability far inferior to Lincoln's—l ruling against us.[16] Finally, a very material questio fact one around which the entire case seemed to rev came up, and again the Court ruled adversely. The pr cution was jubilant, and Lincoln, seeing defeat certain less he recovered his ground, grew very despondent. notion crept into his head that the Court's rulings, w were absurd and almost spiteful, were aimed at him, this angered him beyond reason. He told me of his ings at dinner, and said: "I have determined to crowd Court to the wall and regain my position before nig From that time forward it was interesting to watch

[16] The case was the State vs. P. Q. Harrison, tried in the S mon Circuit Court at the fall term, 1859. Since Sang County had been cut off from the Eighth Circuit in 185 Judge was E. J. Rice—not Lincoln's friend David Davis. Li & Herndon, Stephen T. Logan and Shelby M. Cullom the defendant's attorneys. The jury brought in a verdict a ting the prisoner.

t the reassembling of court he arose to read a few author-
es in support of his position. In his comments he kept
ithin the bounds of propriety just far enough to avoid
reprimand for contempt of court. He characterized the
ntinued rulings against him as not only unjust but fool-
h; and, figuratively speaking, he pealed the Court from
ad to foot. I shall never forget the scene. Lincoln had
e crowd, a portion of the bar, and the jury with him.
e knew that fact, and it, together with the belief that
justice had been done him, nerved him to a feeling of
speration. He was wrought up to the point of mad-
ss. When a man of large heart and head is wrought
and mad, as the old adage runs, "he's mad all over."
incoln had studied up the points involved, but knowing
ll well the calibre of the judge, relied mostly on the
oral effect of his personal bearing and influence. He was
lternately furious and eloquent, pursuing the Court with
oad facts and pointed inquiries in marked and rapid
uccession. I remember he made use of this homely inci-
nt in illustration of some point: "In early days a party
f men went out hunting for a wild boar. But the game
me upon them unawares, and scampering away they all
imbed the trees save one, who, seizing the animal by the
rs, undertook to hold him, but despairing of success
ied out to his companions in the trees, 'For God's sake,
ys, come down and help me let go.'" The prosecution
ndeavored to break him down or even "head him off,"
t all to no purpose. His masterly arraignment of law
nd facts had so effectually badgered the judge that,
range as it may seem, he pretended to see the error in his
rmer position, and finally reversed his decision in Lin-
ln's favor. The latter saw his triumph, and surveyed
situation of which he was the master. His client was
quitted, and he had swept the field.

In the case of Parker vs. Hoyt, tried in the United States
ourt in Chicago, Lincoln was one of the counsel for the
fendant. The suit was on the merits of an infringement
a patent water wheel. The trial lasted several days
d Lincoln manifested great interest in the case. In his

earlier days he had run, or aided in running, a saw-m
and explained in his argument the action of the water
the wheel in a manner so clear and intelligible that the j
were enabled to comprehend the points and line of defe
without the least difficulty. It was evident he had carr
the jury with him in a most masterly argument, the fo
of which could not be broken by the reply of the oppos
counsel. After the jury retired he became very anxi
and uneasy. The jury were in another building, the w
dows of which opened on the street, and had been
for some two hours. "In passing along the street, one
the jurors on whom we very much relied," relates I
coln's associate in the case (Grant Goodrich), "he beir
very intelligent man and firm in his convictions, held u
him one finger. Mr. Lincoln became very much exci
fearing it indicated that eleven of the jury were aga
him. He knew if this man was for him he would ne
yield his opinion. He added, if he was like a juryman
had in Tazewell County, the defendant was safe. He
there employed, he said, to prosecute a suit for divo
His client was a pretty, refined, and interesting little
man in court. The defendant, her husband, was a gr
morose, querulous, fault-finding, and uncomfortable n
and entirely unfitted for the husband of such a wom
but although he was able to prove the use of very of
sive and vulgar epithets applied by the husband to
wife, and all sorts of annoyances, yet there were no s
acts of personal violence as were required by the sta
to justify a divorce. Lincoln did the best he could
appealed to the jury to have compassion on the wor
and not to bind her to such a man and such a lif
awaited her if required to live longer with him. The
took about the same view of it in their deliberations. T
desired to find for his fair client, but could discover
evidence which would really justify a verdict for her.
last they drew up a verdict for the defendant, and
signed but one fellow, who on being approached with
verdict, said, coolly: 'Gentlemen, I am going to lie d
to sleep, and when you get ready to give a verdict for

tle woman, then wake me and not until then; for before will give a verdict against her I will lie here till I rot d the pismires carry me out through the key-hole.' ow,' observed Lincoln, 'if that juryman will stick like e man in Tazewell County we are safe.' Strange to ate, the jury did come in, and with a verdict for the fendant. Lincoln always regarded this as one of the atifying triumphs of his professional life."

CHAPTER ELEVE

A LAW OFFICE IS A DULL, DRY PLACE SO FAR AS PLEASU
able or interesting incidents are concerned. If one is
search of stories of fraud, deceit, cruelty, broken promis
blasted homes, there is no better place to learn them th
a law office. But to the majority of persons these pain
recitals are anything but attractive, and it is well perha
that it should be so. In the office, as in the court roo
Lincoln, when discussing any point, was never arbitra
or insinuating. He was deferential, cool, patient, a
respectful. When he reached the office, about nine o'cl
in the morning, the first thing he did was to pick up
newspaper, spread himself out on an old sofa, one leg
a chair, and read aloud, much to my discomfort. Sing
larly enough Lincoln never read any other way but alo
This habit used to annoy me almost beyond the point
endurance. I once asked him why he did so. This w
his explanation: "When I read aloud two senses ca
the idea: first, I see what I read; second, I hear it, a
therefore I can remember it better." He never stud
law books unless a case was on hand for consideratio
never followed up the decisions of the supreme cou
as other lawyers did. It seemed as if he depended
his effectiveness in managing a law suit entirely on
stimulus and inspiration of the final hour. He paid
little attention to the fees and money matters of the firm
usually leaving all such to me. He never entered an i
in the account book. If any one paid money to him wh
belonged to the firm, on arriving at the office he divi
it with me. If I was not there, he would wrap up
share in a piece of paper and place it in my drawe

arking it with a pencil, "Case of Roe vs. Doe.—Hern-
n's half."

On many topics he was not a good conversationalist,
cause he felt that he was not learned enough. Neither
as he a good listener. Putting it a little strongly, he
as often not even polite. If present with others, or par-
ipating in a conversation, he was rather abrupt, and in
s anxiety to say something apt or to illustrate the sub-
ct under discussion, would burst in with a story. In our
fice I have known him to consume the whole forenoon
lating stories. If a man came to see him for the pur-
se of finding out something, which he did not care to
him know and at the same time did not want to refuse
m, he was very adroit. In such cases Lincoln would
most of the talking, swinging around what he sus-
cted was the vital point, but never nearing it, interlarding
s answers with a seemingly endless supply of stories
d jokes. The interview being both interesting and
easant, the man would depart in good humor, believing
had accomplished his mission. After he had walked
vay a few squares and had cooled off, the question would
me up, "Well, what did I find out?" Blowing away
e froth of Lincoln's humorous narratives he would find
thing substantial left.

"As he entered the trial," relates one of his colleagues
the bar (Leonard Swett), "where most lawyers would
ject he would say he 'reckoned' it would be fair to let
is in, or that; and sometimes, when his adversary could
t quite prove what Lincoln knew to be the truth, he
ckoned' it would be fair to admit the truth to be so-and-
. When he did object to the Court, and when he heard
s objections answered, he would often say, 'Well, I
ckon I must be wrong.' Now, about the time he had
acticed this three-fourths through the case, if his ad-
rsary didn't understand him, he would wake up in a few
inutes learning that he had feared the Greeks too late
d find himself beaten. He was wise as a serpent in the
al of a cause, but I have had too many scars from his
ows to certify that he was harmless as a dove. When

the whole thing was unraveled, the adversary would be to see that what he was so blandly giving away was sim what he couldn't get and keep. By giving away six poi and carrying the seventh he carried his case, and the wh case hanging on the seventh, he traded away everyth which would give him the least aid in carrying that. A man who took Lincoln for a simple-minded man wo very soon wake up with his back in a ditch."

Lincoln's restless ambition found its gratification o in the field of politics. He used the law merely a stepping-stone to what he considered a more attract condition in the political world. In the allurements h out by the latter he seemed to be happy. Nothing in L coln's life has provoked more discussion than the quest of his ability as a lawyer. I feel warranted in saying t he was at the same time a very great and a very ins nificant lawyer. Judge David Davis, in his eulogy Lincoln at Indianapolis, delivered at the meeting of bar there in May, 1865, said this: "In all the elements t constituted a lawyer he had few equals. He was gr at *nisi prius* and before an appellate tribunal. He sei the strong points of a cause and presented them with cle ness and great compactness. His mind was logical direct, and he did not indulge in extraneous discuss Generalities and platitudes had no charm for him. unfailing vein of humor never deserted him, and he able to claim the attention of court and jury when cause was most uninteresting by the appropriateness of anecdotes. His power of comparison was large, and rarely failed in a legal discussion to use that mode of soning. The framework of his mental and moral be was honesty, and a wrong case was poorly defended him. The ability which some eminent lawyers posses explaining away the bad points of a cause by ingeni sophistry was denied him. In order to bring into full tivity his great powers it was necessary that he should convinced of the right and justice of the matter which advocated. When so convinced, whether the cause great or small he was usually successful. . . . He n

ok advantage of a man's low character to prejudice the ry. Mr. Lincoln thought his duty to his client extended what was honorable and high-minded, just and noble—thing further. Hence the meanest man at the bar al-ys paid great deference and respect to him."[1]

This statement of Judge Davis in general is correct, t in some particulars is faulty. It was intended as a logy on Lincoln, and as such would not admit of as many itations and modifications as if spoken under other cumstances. In 1866 Judge Davis said in a statement ade to me in his home at Bloomington, which I still have, Mr. Lincoln had no managing faculty nor organizing wer; hence a child could conform to the simple and chnical rules, the means and the modes of getting at stice better than he. The law has its own rules, and a dent could get at them or keep within them better than ncoln. Sometimes he was forced to study these if he uld not get the rubbish of a case removed. But all the y through his lack of method and organizing ability s clearly apparent." The idea that Mr. Lincoln was great lawyer in the higher courts and a good *nisi prius* wyer, and yet that a child or student could manage a se in court better than he, seems strangely inconsistent, t the facts of his life as a lawyer will reconcile this and ier apparent contradictions.

I was not only associated with Mr. Lincoln in Spring-ld, but was frequently on the circuit with him, but of urse not so much as Judge Davis, who held the court, d whom Lincoln followed around on the circuit for at st six months out of the year. I easily realized that ncoln was strikingly deficient in the technical rules of e law. Although he was constantly reminding young al aspirants to study and "work, work," yet I doubt he ever read a single elementary law book through in life. In fact, I may truthfully say, I never knew him read through a law book of any kind. Practically, he

[1] The last three sentences of this paragraph, which Herndon ginally used as a footnote, are from a statement which he took m Davis Sept. 10, 1866.

knew nothing of the rules of evidence, of pleading, or pr
tice, as laid down in the text-books, and seemed to c
nothing about them. He had a keen sense of justi
and struggled for it, throwing aside forms, methods, a
rules, until it appeared pure as a ray of light flashi
through a fog-bank. He was not a general reader in a
field of knowledge, but when he had occasion to learn
investigate any subject he was thorough and indefatiga
in his search. He not only went to the root of the qu
tion, but dug up the root, and separated and analyz
every fibre of it. He was in every respect a case lawy
never cramming himself on any question till he had a c
in which the question was involved. He thought slo
and acted slowly; he must needs have time to analyze
the facts in a case and wind them into a connected sto
I have seen him lose cases of the plainest justice, wh
the most inexperienced member of the bar would h
gained without effort. Two things were essential to
success in managing a case. One was time; the othe
feeling of confidence in the justice of the cause he r
resented. He used to say, "If I can free this case fr
technicalities and get it properly swung to the jury,
win it." But if either of these essentials were lacki
he was the weakest man at the bar. He was greatest
my opinion as a lawyer in the Supreme Court of Illin
There the cases were never hurried. The attorneys g
erally prepared their cases in the form of briefs, and
movements of the court and counsel were so slow that
one need be caught by surprise.[2] I was with Lincoln o
and listened to an oral argument by him in which he
hearsed an extended history of the law. It was a ca
fully prepared and masterly discourse, but, as I thoug

[2] Herndon's estimate of Lincoln as a lawyer has been challen
by the authors of the two comprehensive studies of his l
career: Frederick Trevor Hill (*Lincoln the Lawyer*) and J
T. Richards (*Abraham Lincoln: The Lawyer Statesman*). Ne
theless, a study of the documentary material, in so far as i
available, testifies to the correctness of his conclusion.
Angle, "Abraham Lincoln: Circuit Lawyer," in *Lincoln C
tennial Association Papers for 1928.*

tirely useless. After he was through and we were walk-
g home I asked him why he went so far back in the his-
ry of the law. I presumed the court knew enough
story. "That's where you're mistaken," was his instant
joinder. "I dared not trust the case on the presumption
at the court knows everything—in fact I argued it on
e presumption that the court didn't know anything," a
tement which, when one reviews the decisions of our ap-
llate courts, is not so extravagant as one would at first
ppose.

I used to grow restless at Lincoln's slow movements
d speeches in court. "Speak with more vim," I would
equently say, "and arouse the jury—talk faster and
ep them awake." In answer to such a suggestion he one
y made use of this illustration: "Give me your little
n-knife, with its short blade, and hand me that old jack-
ife, lying on the table." Opening the blade of the pen-
ife he said: "You see, this blade at the point travels
pidly, but only through a small portion of space till it
ops; while the long blade of the jack-knife moves no
ster but through a much greater space than the small
e. Just so with the long, labored movements of my
ind. I may not emit ideas as rapidly as others, because
am compelled by nature to speak slowly, but when I do
row off a thought it seems to me, though it comes with
me effort, it has force enough to cut its own way and
avel a greater distance." This was said to me when we
ere alone in our office simply for illustration. It was
t said boastingly.

As a specimen of Lincoln's method of reasoning I in-
rt here the brief or notes of an argument used by him
a lawsuit as late as 1858. I copy from the original.

"Legislation and adjudication must follow and conform to
e progress of society.

"The progress of society now begins to produce cases of
e transfer for debts of the entire property of railroad cor-
rations; and to enable transferees to use and enjoy the
nsferred property *legislation* and *adjudication* begin to be
cessary.

"Shall this class of legislation just now beginning with t
be *general* or *special*?

"Section Ten of our Constitution requires that it should l
general, if possible. (Read the Section.)

"Special legislation always trenches upon the judicial d
partment; and in so far violates Section Two of the Constit
tion. (Read it.)

"Just reasoning—policy—is in favor of general legislation-
else the legislature will be *loaded* down with the investigati
of smaller cases—a work which the courts *ought* to perfor
and can perform much more perfectly. How can the Legisl
ture rightly decide the facts between P. & B. and S. C. & C

"It is said that under a general law, whenever a R. R. C
gets tired of its debts, it may transfer *fraudulently* to get r
of them. So they may—so may individuals; and which-
the *Legislature* or the *courts*—is best suited to try the questi
of fraud in either case?

"It is said, if a purchaser have acquired legal rights, l
him not be robbed of them, but if he needs *legislation* let hi
submit to just terms to obtain it.

"Let him, say we, have general law in advance (guarded
every possible way against fraud), so that, when he acquir
a legal right, he will have no occasion to wait for addition
legislation; and if he has practiced fraud let the courts so d
cide."

David Davis said this of Lincoln: "When in a lawsu
he believed his client was oppressed,—as in the Wrig
case,—he was hurtful in denunciation. When he a
tacked meanness, fraud, or vice, he was powerful, mer
less in his castigation." The Wright case referred to w
a suit brought by Lincoln and myself to compel a pensi
agent to refund a portion of a fee which he had withhe
from the widow of a revolutionary soldier. The enti
pension was $400, of which sum the agent had retain
one-half. The pensioner, an old woman crippled and be
with age, came hobbling into the office and told her sto
It stirred Lincoln up, and he walked over to the agen
office and made a demand for a return of the money, b
without success. Then suit was brought. The day befo
the trial I hunted up for Lincoln, at his request, a histo

the Revolutionary War, of which he read a good por-
on. He told me to remain during the trial until I had
ard his address to the jury. "For," said he, "I am going
skin Wright, and get that money back." The only wit-
ess we introduced was the old lady, who through her
ars told her story. In his speech to the jury, Lincoln
counted the causes leading to the outbreak of the Revo-
tionary struggle, and then drew a vivid picture of the
ardships of Valley Forge, describing with minuteness
e men, barefooted and with bleeding feet, creeping over
e ice. As he reached that point in his speech wherein
narrated the hardened action of the defendant in fleecing
e old woman of her pension his eyes flashed, and throw-
g aside his handkerchief, which he held in his right
and, he fairly launched into him. His speech for the
ext five or ten minutes justified the declaration of Davis,
at he was "hurtful in denunciation and merciless in
stigation." There was no rule of court to restrain him
his argument, and I never, either on the stump or on
her occasions in court, saw him so wrought up. Be-
re he closed, he drew an ideal picture of the plaintiff's
sband, the deceased soldier, parting with his wife at the
reshold of their home, and kissing their little babe in
e cradle, as he started for the war. "Time rolls by," he
id in conclusion; "the heroes of '76 have passed away
d are encamped on the other shore. The soldier has
ne to rest, and now, crippled, blind, and broken, his
idow comes to you and to me, gentlemen of the jury, to
ght her wrongs. She was not always thus. She was
ce a beautiful young woman. Her step was elastic, her
ce fair, and her voice as sweet as any that rang in the
ountains of old Virginia. But now she is poor and de-
nseless. Out here on the prairies of Illinois, many
ndreds of miles away from the scenes of her childhood,
e appeals to us, who enjoy the privileges achieved for us
the patriots of the Revolution, for our sympathetic aid
d manly protection. All I ask is, shall we befriend her?"
he speech made the desired impression on the jury. Half
them were in tears, while the defendant sat in the court

room, drawn up and writhing under the fire of Linco
fierce invective. The jury returned a verdict in our fa
for every cent we demanded. Lincoln was so much
terested in the old lady that he became her surety
costs, paid her way home, and her hotel bill while she
in Springfield. When the judgment was paid we remi
the proceeds to her and made no charge for our servi
Lincoln's notes for the argument were unique: "No
tract.—Not professional services.—Unreasonable cha
—Money retained by Def't not given by Pl'ff.—Rev
tionary War.—Describe Valley Forge privations.—Ic
Soldier's bleeding feet.—Pl'ffs husband.—Soldier lea
home for army.—*Skin Def't.*—Close."

It must not be inferred from this that Lincoln wa
the habit of slopping over. He never hunted up
of injustice, but if they came to him he was easily enlis
In 1855 he was attending court at the town of Clin
Illinois. Fifteen ladies from a neighboring village in
county had been indicated for trespass. Their offense
sisted in sweeping down on one Tanner, the keeper
saloon in the village, and knocking in the heads of
barrels. Lincoln was not employed in the case, but
watching the trial as it proceeded. In defending the la
their attorney seemed to evince a little want of tact, and
prompted one of the former to invite Mr. Lincoln to
a few words to the jury, if he thought he could aid t
cause. He was too gallant to refuse and, their atto
having consented, he made use of the following argum
"In this case I would change the order of indictment
have it read The State vs. Mr. Whisky, instead of
State vs. The Ladies; and touching these there are t
laws: The law of self-protection; the law of the lan
statute law; and the moral law, or law of God. First
law of self-protection is a law of necessity, as evince
our forefathers in casting the tea overboard and asse
their right to the pursuit of life, liberty, and happi
In this case it is the only defense the ladies have,
Tanner neither feared God nor regarded man. Second
law of the land, or statute law, and Tanner is recrea

th. Third, the moral law, or law of God, and this is obably a law for the violation of which the jury can no punishment." Lincoln gave some of his own obser-tions on the ruinous effects of whisky in society, and manded its early suppression. After he had concluded, e Court, without awaiting the return of the jury, dis-ssed the ladies, saying: "Ladies, go home. I will require bond of you, and if any fine is ever wanted of you, we ill let you know." [8]

After Lincoln's death a fellow-lawyer (Joseph Gillespie) id this tribute to him: "He was wonderfully kind, care-l, and just. He had an immense stock of common-nse, and he had faith enough in it to trust it in every nergency. Mr. Lincoln's love of justice and fair-play as his predominating trait. I have often listened to him hen I thought he would certainly state his case out of urt. It was not in his nature to assume or attempt to olster up a false position. He would abandon his case rst. He did so in the case of Buckmaster for the use Dedham vs. Beemes and Arthur, in our Supreme Court, which I happened to be opposed to him. Another gen-eman, less fastidious, took Mr. Lincoln's place and gained e case."

[8] This case, The People vs. Elizabeth Shirtleff, Emily Lewis *al.*, was tried on May 19, 1854, at Clinton, Illinois. A con-mporary newspaper report sets forth the facts as follows: "At e recent term of the DeWitt circuit court, there was an in-ctment found against *nine* ladies. from Marion, in said county, r a riot. The circumstances are as follows: A man by the me of Tanner, had recently moved in the town of Marion d started a 'doggery,' and was selling liquor to the inhabitants, uch to the annoyance of the fair sex. The ladies called upon r. T. and requested him to desist his traffic of liquor, but to avail. They then took the law in their own hands, and, in a iet and respectful manner, took the liquor and turned it out on the ground. At the trial, there were from one to two ndred ladies present. Col. Gridley prosecuted for Mr. Campbell, e latter being unable to attend to business. Messrs. Lincoln d Stewart defended the fair daughters of Adam. The ry found the perpetrators guilty and the court fined them in e sum of *two dollars*. Huzzah, for the Marion ladies." *De-ur Gazette*, clipped in *Illinois State Register*, May 27, 1854.

"Early in 1858," says Joseph E. McDonald, "at Danv
Illinois, I met Lincoln, Swett, and others who had retur
from court in an adjoining county, and were discuss
the various features of a murder trial in which Linc
had made a vigorous fight for the prosecution and Sw
had defended. The plea of the defense was insanity.
inquiring the name of the defendant I was surprised
learn that it was my old friend Isaac Wyant, formerly
Indiana. I told them that I had been Wyant's cou
frequently and had defended him from almost every cha
in the calendar of crimes; and that he was a weak brot
and could be led into almost everything. At once Linc
began to manifest great interest in Wyant's history,
had to be told all about him. The next day on the wa
the courthouse he told me he had been greatly troub
over what I related about Wyant; that his sleep had b
disturbed by the fear that he had been too bitter and
relenting in his prosecution of him. 'I acted,' he said,
the theory that he was "possuming" insanity, and no
fear I have been too severe and that the poor fellow ma
insane after all. If he cannot realize the wrong of
crime, then I was wrong in aiding to punish him.' "[4]

A widow who owned a piece of valuable land emplo
Lincoln and myself to examine the title to the prope
with the view of ascertaining whether certain alleged
liens were just or not. In tracing back the title we w
not satisfied with the description of the ground in one
the deeds of conveyance. Lincoln, to settle the mat
took his surveying instruments and surveyed the gro
himself. The result proved that Charles Matheny
former grantor, had sold the land at so much per acre,
that in describing it he had made an error and conve
more land than he received pay for. This land descen
to our client, and Lincoln after a careful survey and
culation, decided that she ought to pay to Matheny's h
the sum which he had shown was due them by reason of
erroneous conveyance. To this she entered strenuous
jections, but when assured that unless she consented

[4] Original footnote.

is act of plain justice we would drop the case, she finally, ough with great reluctance, consented. She paid the quired amount, and this we divided up into smaller sums oportioned to the number of heirs. Lincoln himself dis- buted these to the heirs, obtaining a receipt from each e.

[In the original edition Herndon printed the following ter as a footnote, describing it, without comment, as an dated manuscript written about 1866.

EAR HERNDON:

"One morning, not long before Lincoln's nomination—a ar perhaps—I was in your office and heard the following: . Lincoln, seated at the baize-covered table in the center the office, listened attentively to a man who talked earnestly d in a low tone. After being thus engaged for some time ncoln at length broke in, and I shall never forget his ly. 'Yes,' he said, 'we can doubtless gain your case for u; we can set a whole neighborhood at loggerheads; we n distress a widowed mother and her six fatherless children d thereby get for you six hundred dollars to which you seem have a legal claim, but which rightfully belongs, it appears me, as much to the woman and her children as it does to u. You must remember that some things legally right are t morally right. We shall not take your case, but will e you a little advice for which we will charge you nothing. u seem to be a sprightly, energetic man; we would advise u to try your hand at making six hundred dollars in some ner way.'

"Yours,

"LORD."]

While Mr. Lincoln was no financier and had no pro- nsity to acquire property,—no avarice of the get,—yet had the capacity of retention, or the avarice of the ep. He never speculated in lands or anything else. In e days of land offices and "choice lots in a growing town" had many opportunities to make safe ventures promising od returns, but he never availed himself of them.[5] His

[5] Lincoln, nevertheless, owned more real estate than is generally lized. In addition to the land he sold soon after removing

brother lawyers were making good investments and lu
turns, some of them, Davis, for example, were rap
becoming wealthy; but Lincoln cared nothing for spec
tion; in fact there was no venturesome spirit in him.
habits were very simple. He was not fastidious as
food or dress. His hat was brown, faded, and the
usually worn or rubbed off. He wore a short cloak
sometimes a shawl. His coat and vest hung loosely on
gaunt frame, and his trousers were invariably too sh
On the circuit he carried in one hand a faded green
brella, with "A. Lincoln" in large white cotton or mu
letters sewed on the inside. The knob was gone from
handle, and when closed a piece of cord was usually
around it in the middle to keep it from flying open. In
other hand he carried a literal carpet-bag, in which v
stored the few papers to be used in court, and undercl
ing enough to last till his return to Springfield. He s
in a long, coarse, yellow flannel shirt, which reached h
way between his knees and ankles. It probably was
made to fit his bony figure as completely as Beau Br
mel's shirt, and hence we can somewhat appreciate
sensation of a young lawyer who, on seeing him
arrayed for the first time, observed afterwards that,
was the ungodliest figure I ever saw."

"He never complained of the food, bed, or lodgings.
every other fellow grumbled at the bill-of-fare w
greeted us at many of the dingy taverns," says D
Davis, "Lincoln said nothing." He was once presidin
judge in the absence of Davis, and the case before
was an action brought by a merchant against the fathe
a minor son for a suit of clothes sold to the son wit
paternal authority. The real question was whether
clothes were necessary, and suited to the condition of
son's life. The father was a wealthy farmer; the bil

to Springfield (see p. 99 n.) he owned several Springfield
lots, one in Lincoln and two in Bloomington for a numb
years, besides 120 acres in Iowa and a dower right in 80
in Sangamon county which Mrs. Lincoln owned. *Bulletins 1*
17, The Abraham Lincoln Association.

e clothing was twenty-eight dollars. I happened in court st as Lincoln was rendering his decision. He ruled inst the plea of necessity. "I have rarely in my life," d he, "worn a suit of clothes costing twenty-eight dol-s."

"Several of us lawyers," remarked one of his colleagues, the eastern end of the circuit annoyed Lincoln once ile he was holding court for Davis by attempting to de-d against a note to which there were many makers. e had no legal, but a good moral defense, but what we nted most of all was to stave it off till the next term of rt by one expedient or another. We bothered 'the rt' about it till late on Saturday, the day of adjourn-nt. He adjourned for supper with nothing left but this e to dispose of. After supper he heard our twaddle for rly an hour, and then made this odd entry: 'L. D. addon vs. J. D. Beasley *et al.* April term, 1856. Cham-gn County Court. Plea in abatement by B. Z. Green, a fendant not served, filed Saturday at 11 o'clock A. M., ril 24, 1856, stricken from the files by order of court. murrer to declaration, if there ever was one, overruled. fendants who are served now, at 8 o'clock, P. M., of the t day of the term, ask to plead to the merits, which is ied by the court on the ground that the offer comes too e, and therefore, as by *nil dicet,* judgment is rendered for ff. Clerk assess damages. A. Lincoln, Judge *pro n.*'" The lawyer who reads this singular entry will preciate its oddity if no one else does. After making it e of the lawyers, on recovering from his astonishment, ntured to inquire, "Well, Lincoln, how can we get this se up again?" Lincoln eyed him quizzically a moment, d then answered, "You have all been so 'mighty smart out this case you can find out how to take it up again urselves."

"During my first attendance at court in Menard County," ates a lawyer who traveled the circuit with Lincoln, me thirty young men had been indicted for playing ds, and Lincoln and I were employed in their defense. e prosecuting attorney, in framing the indictments, al-

ternately charged the defendants with playing a cert
game of cards called 'seven-up,' and in the next bill char
them with playing cards at a certain game called
sledge.' Four defendants were indicted in each bill.
prosecutor, being entirely unacquainted with games
cards, did not know the fact that both 'seven-up' and
sledge' were one and the same. Upon the trial on
bills describing the game as 'seven-up' our witnesses wo
swear that the game played was 'old sledge,' and vice ve
on the bills alleging the latter. The result was an acqui
in every case under the instructions of the Court.
prosecutor never found out the dodge until the trials w
over, and immense fun and rejoicing were indulged in
the result." [6]

The same gentleman who furnishes the incident conce
ing Lincoln on the bench, and who was afterwards a trus
friend of Mr. Lincoln, Henry C. Whitney, has descri
most happily the delights of a life on the circuit. A bi
it, referring to Lincoln, I apprehend, cannot be deer
out of place here. "In October, 1854, Abraham L
coln," he relates, "drove into our town (Urbana) to att
court. He had the appearance of a rough, intelli
farmer, and his rude, home-made buggy and raw-bo
horse enforced this belief. I had met him for the
time in June of the same year. David Davis and Leon
Swett had just preceded him. The next morning he sta
North, on the Illinois Central Railroad, and as he wen
an old omnibus he played on a boy's harp all the wa
the depot. I used to attend the Danville court, and w
there, usually roomed with Lincoln and Davis. We stop
at McCormick's hotel, an old-fashioned frame cou
tavern. Jurors, counsel, prisoners, everybody ate at a
table. The judge, Lincoln, and I had the ladies' pa
fitted up with two beds. Lincoln, Swett, McWilliams
Bloomington, Voorhees, of Covington, Ind., O. L. Da
Drake, Ward Lamon, Lawrence, Beckwith, and O
Harmon, of Danville, Whiteman, of Iroquois County,
Chandler, of Williamsport, Ind., constituted the bar.

[6] Original footnote.

:n, Davis, Swett, I, and others who came from the west-
1 part of the state would drive from Urbana. The
tance was thirty-six miles. We sang and exchanged
ries all the way. We had no hesitation in stopping at
armhouse and ordering them to kill and cook a chicken
r dinner. By dark we reached Danville. Lamon would
ve whisky in his office for the drinking ones, and those
o indulged in petty gambling would get by themselves
d play till late in the night. Lincoln, Davis, and a few
al wits would spend the evening in Davis's room, talking
itics, wisdom, and fun. Lincoln and Swett were the
at lawyers, and Lincoln always wanted Swett in jury
es. We who stopped at the hotel would all breakfast
gether and frequently go out into the woods and hold
rt. We were of more consequence than a court and bar
now. The feelings were those of great fraternity in
bar, and if we desired to restrict our circle it was no
uble for Davis to freeze out any disagreeable persons.
ncoln was fond of going all by himself to any little
ow or concert. I have known him to slip away and
end the entire evening at a little magic lantern show
ended for children. A travelling concert company,
lling themselves the 'Newhall Family,' were sure of
awing Lincoln. One of their number, Mrs. Hillis, a
od singer, he used to tell us was the only woman who
er seemed to exhibit any liking for him. I attended a
gro-minstrel show in Chicago, where we heard Dixie
ng. It was entirely new, and pleased him greatly. In
urt he was irrepressible and apparently inexhaustible
his fund of stories. Where in the world a man who had
velled so little and struggled amid the restrictions of
ch limited surroundings could gather up such apt and
ique yarns we never could guess. Davis appreciated
ncoln's talent in this direction, and was always ready
stop business to hear one of his stories. Lincoln was
y bashful when in the presence of ladies. I remember
ce we were invited to take tea at a friend's house, and
ile in the parlor I was called to the front gate to see a
nt. When I returned, Lincoln, who had undertaken

to entertain the ladies, was twisting and squirming in
chair, and as bashful as a schoolboy. Everywhere, thou
we met a hard crowd at every court, and though thi
were free and easy, we were treated with great respect.'

Probably the most important lawsuit Lincoln and I c
ducted was one in which we defended the Illinois Cen
Railroad in an action brought by McLean County, Illin
in August, 1853, to recover taxes alleged to be due
county from the road. The Legislature had granted
road immunity from taxation, and this was a case inten
to test the constitutionality of the law. The road se
retainer fee of $250. In the lower court the case
decided in favor of the railroad. An appeal to the
preme Court followed, and there it was argued twice,
finally decided in our favor. This last decision was
dered some time in 1855. Mr. Lincoln soon went to C
cago and presented our bill for legal services. We c
asked for $2,000 more. The official to whom he was
ferred,—supposed to have been the superintendent Geo
B. McClellan who afterwards became the eminent gene
—looking at the bill expressed great surprise. "Why, s
he exclaimed, "this is as much as Daniel Webster him
would have charged. We cannot allow such a clai
Stung by the rebuff, Lincoln withdrew the bill, and sta
for home. On the way he stopped at Bloomington. Th
he met Grant Goodrich, Archibald Williams, Norman
Judd, O. H. Browning, and other attorneys, who, on le
ing of his modest charge for such valuable services
dered the railroad, induced him to increase the deman
$5,000, and to bring suit for that sum. This was don
once. On the trial six lawyers certified that the bill
reasonable, and judgment for that sum went by def
The judgment was promptly paid. Lincoln gave me
half, and much as we deprecated the avarice of great
porations, we both thanked the Lord for letting the Illi
Central Railroad fall into our hands.'

[7] Herndon's account of this litigation is at fault in its chr
ogy. The tax suit was first argued in the Supreme Court on
ruary 28, 1854, and again on January 16 and 17, 1856. On Ju

In the summer of 1857 Lincoln was employed by one nny, of Chicago, to defend him in an action brought McCormick,[8] who was the inventor of the reaping chine, for infringement of patent. Lincoln had been ommended to Manny by E. B. Washburne, then a mem- of Congress from northern Illinois. The case was to tried before Judge McLean at Cincinnati, in the Circuit urt of the United States. The counsel for McCormick s Reverdy Johnson. Edwin M. Stanton and George rding, of Philadelphia, were associated on the other e with Lincoln. The latter came to Cincinnati a few s before the argument took place, and stopped at the ıse of a friend. "The case was one of great importance uniarily," relates a lawyer in Cincinnati (W. M. Dick-), who was a member of the bar at the time, "and in law questions involved. Reverdy Johnson represented plaintiff. Mr. Lincoln had prepared himself with the atest care; his ambition was up to speak in the case and measure swords with the renowned lawyer from Balti- re. It was understood between his client and himself ore his coming that Mr. Harding, of Philadelphia, was be associated with him in the case, and was to make the chanical argument.' After reaching Cincinnati, Mr. Lin- n was a little surprised and annoyed to learn that his nt had also associated with him Mr. Edwin M. Stanton, Pittsburgh, and a lawyer of our own bar, the reason igned being that the importance of the case required a n of the experience and power of Mr. Stanton to meet . Johnson. The Cincinnati lawyer was appointed for 'local influence.' These reasons did not remove the ht conveyed in the employment without consultation h him of this additional counsel. He keenly felt it, acquiesced. The trial of the case came on; the coun- for defense met each morning for consultation. On one

7, in the McLean Circuit Court, Lincoln obtained judgment for fee. On the same day the judgment was set aside and trial set June 23, when judgment was again entered in his favor.

[8] McCormick vs. Manny, tried at Cincinnati in September, 5. Lincoln was retained in the early summer of that same

of these occasions one of the counsel moved that only t
of them should speak in the case. This matter was a
acquiesced in. It had always been understood that M
Harding was to speak to explain the mechanism of t
reapers. So this motion excluded either Mr. Lincoln
Mr. Stanton, —which? By the custom of the bar, as
tween counsel of equal standing, and in the absence of a
action of the client, the original counsel speaks. By t
rule Mr. Lincoln had precedence. Mr. Stanton suggest
to Mr. Lincoln to make the speech. Mr. Lincoln a
swered. 'No, you speak.' Mr. Stanton replied, 'I wi
and taking up his hat, said he would go and make prepa
tion. Mr. Lincoln acquiesced in this, but was grea
grieved and mortified; he took but little more interest
the case, though remaining until the conclusion of the tr
He seemed to be greatly depressed, and gave evide
of that tendency to melancholy which so marked his ch
acter. His parting on leaving the city cannot be forgott
Cordially shaking the hand of his hostess he said: 'Y
have made my stay here most agreeable, and I am a th
sand times obliged to you; but in reply to your requ
for me to come again, I must say to you I never expect
be in Cincinnati again. I have nothing against the city,
things have so happened here as to make it undesirable
me ever to return.' Lincoln felt that Stanton had not o
been very discourteous to him, but had purposely igno
him in the case, and that he had received rather rude
not unkind, treatment from all hands. Stanton, in
brusque and abrupt way, it is said, described him as a 'lo
lank creature from Illinois, wearing a dirty linen dus
for a coat, on the back of which the perspiration
splotched wide stains that resembled a map of the c
tinent.' Mr. Lincoln," adds Mr. Dickson, "remained
Cincinnati about a week, moving freely around, yet
twenty men knew him personally or knew he was he
not a hundred would have known who he was had
name been given to them. He came with the fond h
of making fame in a forensic contest with Reverdy Jo
son. He was pushed aside, humiliated and mortified.

ched to the innocent city the displeasure that filled his om, and shook its dust from his feet." On his return Springfield he was somewhat reticent regarding the l, and, contrary to his custom, communicated to his ociates at the bar but few of its incidents. He told that he had been "roughly handled by that man Stan-"; that he overheard the latter from an adjoining room, le the door was slightly ajar, referring to Lincoln, in-e of another, "Where did that long-armed creature e from, and what can he expect to do in this case?" ring the trial Lincoln formed a poor opinion of Judge Lean. He characterized him as an "old granny," with siderable vigor of mind, but no perception at all. "If were to point your finger at him," he put it, "and a ning needle at the same time he never would know ch was the sharpest."

s Lincoln grew into public favor and achieved such rked success in the profession, half the bar of Spring-d began to be envious of his growing popularity. I eve there is less jealousy and bitter feeling among yers than professional men of any other class; but it uld be borne in mind that in that early day a portion the bar in every county seat, if not a majority of the yers everywhere, were politicians. Stuart frequently ered from Lincoln on political questions, and was full envy. Likewise those who coincided with Lincoln in political views were disturbed in the same way. Even gan was not wholly free from the degrading passion. in this respect Lincoln suffered no more than other at characters who preceded him in the world's history. That which Lincoln's adversaries in a lawsuit feared st of all was his apparent disregard of custom or pro-sional propriety in managing a case before a jury. He shed aside all rules, and very often resorted to some nge and strategic performance which invariably broke opponent down or exercised some peculiar influence r the jury. Hence the other side in a case were in con-nt fear of one of his dramatic strokes, or trembled he should "ring in" some ingeniously planned inter-

ruption not on the programme. In a case where Jud
Logan—always earnest and grave—opposed him, Linc
created no little merriment by his reference to Loga
style of dress. He carried the surprise in store for the
ter, till he reached his turn before the jury. Addressi
them, he said: "Gentlemen, you must be careful and
permit yourselves to be overcome by the eloquence
counsel for the defense. Judge Logan, I know, is an
fective lawyer. I have met him too often to doubt th
but shrewd and careful though he be, still he is sometin
wrong. Since this trial has begun I have discovered th
with all his caution and fastidiousness, he hasn't kno
edge enough to put his shirt on right." Logan turned
as crimson, but sure enough, Lincoln was correct,
the former had donned a new shirt, and by mistake
drawn it over his head with the pleated bosom behi
The general laugh which followed destroyed the effect
Logan's eloquence over the jury—the very point at wh
Lincoln aimed.

The trial of William Armstrong[9] for the murder
James P. Metzger, in May, 1858, at Beardstown, Illin
in which Lincoln secured the acquittal of the defenda
was one of the gratifying triumphs in his career a
lawyer. Lincoln's defense, wherein he floored the p
cipal prosecuting witness, who had testified positively
seeing the fatal blow struck in the moonlight, by show
from an almanac that the moon had set, was not m
convincing than his eloquent and irresistible appeal in
client's favor. The latter's mother, old Hannah A
strong, the friend of his youth, had solicited him to
fend her son. "He told the jury," relates the prosecu
attorney, "of his once being a poor, friendless boy;
Armstrong's parents took him into their house, fed
clothed him, and gave him a home. There were t
in his eyes as he spoke. The sight of his tall, quive
frame, and the particulars of the story he so pathetic
told, moved the jury to tears also, and they forgot
guilt of the defendant in their admiration of his a

[9] Duff Armstrong.

e. It was the most touching scene I ever witnessed."
fore passing it may be well to listen to the humble
ute of old Hannah Armstrong, the defendant's mother:
ncoln had said to me, 'Hannah, your son will be cleared
ore sundown.' I left the court-room, and they came
l told me that my son was cleared and a free man. I
nt up to the courthouse. The jury shook hands with
; so did the judge and Lincoln; tears streamed down
coln's eyes. . . . After the trial I asked him what his
would be; told him I was poor. 'Why, Hannah,' he
l, 'I sha'n't charge you a cent, and anything else I can
for you, will do it willingly and without charge.' He
erwards wrote to me about a piece of land which cer-
n men were trying to get from me, and said: 'Hannah,
y can't get your land. Let them try it in the Circuit
urt, and then you appeal it; bring it to the Supreme
urt and I and Herndon will attend to it for nothing.'"
The last suit of any importance in which Lincoln was
rsonally engaged, was known as the Johnson sand-bar
e. It involved the title to certain lands, the accretion
the shores of Lake Michigan, in or near Chicago. It
s tried in the United States Circuit Court at Chicago
April and May, 1860. During the trial, the Court—
lge Drummond—and all the counsel on both sides dined
the residence of Isaac N. Arnold, afterwards a mem-
of Congress. "Douglas and Lincoln," relates Mr. Ar-
d, "were at the time both candidates for the nomination
President. There were active and ardent political
ends of each at the table, and when the sentiment was
posed, 'May Illinois furnish the next President,' it was
nk with enthusiasm by the friends of both Lincoln
Douglas."

could fill this volume with reminiscences of Lincoln's
eer as a lawyer, but lest the reader should tire of what
st savor in many cases of monotony it is best to move
I have made this portion of the book rather full;
as Lincoln's individuality and peculiarities were more
rked in the law office and court-room than anywhere
it will play its part in making up the picture of the

man. Enough has been told to show how, in the face adverse fortune and the lack of early training and by for of his indomitable will and self-confidence, he gained su ascendency among the lawyers of Illinois. The reader enabled thereby to understand the philosophy of growth.

But now another field is preparing to claim him. The will soon be great need for his clear reason, masterly mi and heroic devotion to principle. The distant mutterin of an approaching contest are driving scattered factio into a union of sentiment and action. As the phalanx of warriors are preparing for action, amid the rattle forensic musketry, Lincoln, their courageous lead equipped for battle, springs into view.

HAPTER TWELVE

ILE LINCOLN IN A CERTAIN SENSE WAS BURIED IN THE from the time his career in Congress closed till, to his own words, "the repeal of the Missouri Compro- e aroused him again," yet he was a careful student of times and kept abreast of the many and varied move- nts in politics. He was generally on the Whig elec- l tickets, and made himself heard during each succes- e canvass, but he seemed to have lost that zealous in- st in politics which characterized his earlier days. He dded on unaware of, and seemingly without ambition , the great distinction that lay in store for him.

n the campaign of 1852, when Pierce was the Demo- ic candidate for President, Douglas made speeches for in almost every State in the Union. His "key-note" sounded at Richmond, Va. Lincoln, whose reputation limited by the boundaries of Illinois, was invited by Scott Club of Springfield to answer it, but his soul heart were not in the undertaking. He had not yet kened, and, considering it entire, the speech was a r effort. Another[1] has truthfully said of it, "If it was inguished by one quality above another, it was by its mpts at humor; and all those attempts were strained affected, as well as very coarse. He displayed a jealous petulant temper from the first sentence to the last, lly beneath the dignity of the occasion and the im- tance of the topic. Considered as a whole, it may be that none of his public performances was more un- thy of its really noble author than this one." The

Lamon, *The Life of Abraham Lincoln*, pp. 340-41. Original note.

closing paragraph will serve as fair sample of the ent
speech: "Let us stand by our candidate [General Scott]
faithfully as he has always stood by our country, an
much doubt if we do not perceive a slight abatement
Judge Douglas's confidence in Providence as well as
people. I suspect that confidence is not more firmly fi
with the Judge than it was with the old woman whose ho
ran away with her in a buggy. She said she trusted in Pr
idence till the 'britchen' broke, and then she didn't kn
what on 'airth' to do. The chance is the Judge will
the 'britchen' broke, and then he can at his leisure bew
the fate of Locofocoism as the victim of misplaced c
fidence."

John T. Stuart relates that, as he and Lincoln were
turning from the court in Tazewell County in 1850, a
were nearing the little town of Dillon, they engaged i
discussion of the political situation. "As we were com
down the hill," are Stuart's words, "I said, 'Lincoln,
time is coming when we shall have to be all either Ab
tionists or Democrats.' He thought a moment and t
answered, ruefully and emphatically, 'When that ti
comes my mind is made up, for I believe the slavery qu
tion can never be successfully compromised.' I respon
with equal emphasis, 'My mind is made up too'." T
it was with Lincoln. But he was too slow to suit the
petuous demand of the few pronounced Abolition
whom he met in his daily walks. The sentiment of
majority in Springfield tended in the other direction,
thus environed, Lincoln lay down like the sleeping l
The future would yet arouse him. At that time I was
ardent Abolitionist in sentiment. I used to warn Lin
against his apparent conservatism when the needs of
hour were so great; but his only answer would be, "B
you're too rampant and spontaneous." I was in co
spondence with Sumner, Greely, Phillips, and Garri
and was thus thoroughly imbued with all the rancor dr
from such strong anti-slavery sources. I adhered to
coln, relying on the final outcome of his sense of ju
and right. Every time a good speech on the great i

s made I sent for it. Hence you could find on my
e the latest utterances of Giddings, Phillips, Sumner,
ward, and one whom I considered grander than all the
ers—Theodore Parker. Lincoln and I took such papers
he *Chicago Tribune, New York Tribune, Anti-Slavery*
ndard, Emancipator, and *National Era.* On the other
: of the question we took the *Charleston Mercury* and
Richmond Enquirer. I also bought a book called
ciology," written by one Fitzhugh, which defended and
ified slavery in every conceivable way. In addition
urchased all the leading histories of the slavery move-
it, and other works which treated on that subject. Lin-
n himself never bought many books, but he and I both
d those I have named. After reading them we would
cuss the questions they touched upon and the ideas they
gested, from our different points of view. I was never
scious of having made much of an impression on Mr.
coln, nor do I believe I ever changed his views. I will
further and say, that, from the profound nature of
conclusions and the labored method by which he ar-
ed at them, no man is entitled to the credit of having
er changed or greatly modified them. I remember
e, after having read one of Theodore Parker's ser-
ns on slavery, saying to Mr. Lincoln substantially this:
ave always noticed that ill-gotten wealth does no man
good. This is as true of nations as individuals. I
eve that all the ill-gotten gain wrenched by us from
negro through his enslavement will eventually be taken
n us, and we will be set back where we began." Lin-
n thought my prophecy rather direful. He doubted
ously if either of us would live to see the righting of
great a wrong; but years after, when writing his sec-
Inaugural address, he endorsed the idea. Clothing it
he most beautiful language, he says: "Yet if God wills
it [the war] continue till all the wealth piled by the
dsman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited
shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn by
lash shall be paid by another drawn by the sword, as
said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said,

'The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous alt
gether'."

The passage in May, 1854, of the Kansas-Nebraska b
swept out of sight the Missouri Compromise and the Co
promise measures of 1850. This bill, designed and carri
through by Douglas, was regarded by him as the maste
piece of all his varied achievements in legislation.
served to prove more clearly than anything he had ev
before done his flexibility and want of political conscien
Although in years gone before he had invoked the ve
geance of Heaven on the ruthless hand that should da
to disturb the sanctity of the compact of 1821, yet no
he was the arrogant and audacious leader in the very wo
he had so heartily condemned. When we consider the b
and the unfortunate results which followed it in the bord
States we are irresistibly led to conclude that it was,
things considered, a great public wrong and a most
mentable piece of political jugglery. The stump spee
which Thomas H. Benton charged that Douglas had "
jected into the belly of the bill" contains all there was
Popular Sovereignty—"It being the true intent and mea
ing of this act not to legislate slavery into any Territory
State nor to exclude it therefrom, but to leave the peo
thereof perfectly free to form and regulate their domes
insitutions in their own way, subject only to the Consti
tion of the United States," an argument which, using L
coln's words, "amounts to this: That if any one m
chooses to enslave another no third man shall be allow
to object." The widespread feeling the passage of t
law aroused everywhere over the Union is a matter
general history. It stirred up in New England the lat
hostility to the aggression of slavery; it stimulated
extraordinary endeavors the derided Abolitionists, arm
them with new weapons; it sounded the death-knell
the gallant old Whig party; it drove together stran
discordant elements in readiness to fight a common enem
it brought to the forefront a leader in the person of L
coln.

The revolt of Cook, Judd, and Palmer, all young a

ogressive, from the Democratic majority in the Legis-
ure was the first sign of discontent in Illinois. The
le and partly hostile reception of Douglas, on his ar-
al in Chicago, did not in any degree tend to allay the
ling of disapproval so general in its manifestation. The
rriors, young and old, removed their armor from the
ls, and began preparations for the impending conflict.
ncoln had made a few speeches in aid of Scott during
campaign of 1852, but they were efforts entirely un-
rthy of the man. Now, however, a live issue was pre-
ted to him. No one realized this sooner than he. In
office discussions he grew bolder in his utterances. He
isted that the social and political difference between
very and freedom was becoming more marked; that one
st overcome the other; and that postponing the struggle
ween them would only make it the more deadly in the
l. "The day of compromise," he still contended, "has
ssed. These two great ideas have been kept apart only
the most artful means. They are like two wild beasts
sight of each other, but chained and held apart. Some
y these deadly antagonists will one or the other break
ir bonds, and then the question will be settled." In a
nversation with a fellow-lawyer (Joseph Gillespie) he
l of slavery: "It is the most glittering, ostentatious, and
playing property in the world, and now, if a young man
s courting, the only inquiry is how many negroes he or
lady-love owns. The love for slave property is swal-
ing up every other mercenary possession. Slavery is
reat and crying injustice—an enormous national crime."
another time he made the observation that it was
ngular that the courts would hold that a man never lost
right to his property that had been stolen from him, but
t he instantly lost his right to himself if he was stolen."
is useless to add more evidence—for it could be piled
untain high—showing that at the very outset Mr. Lin-
n was sound to the core on the injustice and crime of
nan slavery.

After a brief rest at his home in Chicago Mr. Douglas
ook himself to the country, and in October, during the

week of the State Fair, we find him in Springfield. (
Tuesday he made a speech in the State House which,
view of the hostile attitude of some of his own pa
friends, was a labored defense of his position. It w
full of ingenious sophistry and skilful argument.
unprecedented concourse of people had gathered from
parts of the State, and Douglas, fresh from the halls
Congress, was the lion of the hour. On the followi
day Mr. Lincoln, as the champion of the opponents
Popular Sovereignty, was selected to represent those w
disagreed with the new legislation, and to answer Dougl
His speech encouraged his friends no less than it start
his enemies. At this time I was zealously interested
the new movement, and not less so in Lincoln. I f
quently wrote the editorials in the *Springfield Journ*
the editor, Simeon Francis, giving to Lincoln and to
the utmost liberty in that direction. Occasionally L
coln would write out matter for publication, but I beli
I availed myself of the privilege oftener than he. T
editorial in the issue containing the speeches of Linc
and Douglas on this occasion was my own, and while
description it may seem rather strongly imbued w
youthful enthusiasm, yet on reading it in maturer ye
I am still inclined to believe it reasonably faithful to
facts and the situation. "The anti-Nebraska speech
Mr. Lincoln," says the article, "was the profoundest
our opinion that he has made in his whole life. He
upon his soul the truths burn which he uttered, and
present felt that he was true to his own soul. His feeli
once or twice swelled within, and came near stifling ut
ance. He quivered with emotion. The whole house
as still as death. He attacked the Nebraska bill with unus
warmth and energy; and all felt that a man of stren
was its enemy, and that he intended to blast it if he co
by strong and manly efforts. He was most success
and the house approved the glorious triumph of truth
loud and continued huzzas. Women waved their w
handkerchiefs in token of woman's silent but heart
assent. Douglas felt the sting; the animal within him

sed because he frequently interrupted Mr. Lincoln. friends felt that he was crushed by Lincoln's powerful ument, manly logic, and illustrations from nature und us. The Nebraska bill was shivered, and like a e of the forest was torn and rent asunder by the hot ts of truth. Mr. Lincoln exhibited Douglas in all the tudes he could be placed, in a friendly debate. He exited the bill in all its aspects to show its humbuggery falsehood, and, when thus torn to rags, cut into slips, d up to the gaze of the vast crowd, a kind of scorn mockery was visible upon the face of the crowd and n the lips of their most eloquent speaker. At the consion of this speech every man and child felt that it was nswerable. He took the heart captive and broke like a over the understanding."

Anent the subject of editorial writing it may not be ppropriate to relate that Lincoln and I both kept on nishing political matter of many varieties for the *ringfield Journal* until 1860. Many of the editorials t I wrote were intended directly or indirectly to pote the interest of Lincoln. I wrote one on the advislity of annexing Cuba to the United States, taking the her advanced ground that slavery would be abolished Cuba before it would in this country—a position which used no little controversy with other papers. One little ident occurs to me in this connection which may not without interest to newspaper men. A newspaper had n started in Springfield called the *Conservative,* which, vas believed, was being run in the interest of the Demotic party. While pretending to support Fillmore it was t alive by Buchanan men and other kindred spirits, who re somewhat pro-slavery in their views. The thing s damaging Lincoln and the friends of freedom more n an avowed Democratic paper could. The editor, an y, good-natured fellow, simply placed in charge to exee the will of those who gave the paper its financial king, was a good friend of mine, and by means of friendship I was always well informed of matters in *Conservative* editorial room. One day I read in the

Richmond Enquirer an article endorsing slavery, a
arguing that from principle the enslavement of eith
whites or blacks was justifiable and right. I showed it
Lincoln who remarked that it was "rather rank doctri
for Northern Democrats to endorse. I should like
see," he said, with emphasis, "some of these Illinois new
papers champion that." I told him if he would only w
and keep his own counsel I would have a pro-slavery org
in Springfield publish that very article. He doubted
but when I told him how it was to be done he laugh
and said, "Go in." I cut the slip out and succeeded
getting it in the paper named. Of course it was a tri
but it acted admirably. Its appearance in the new org
although without comment, almost ruined that valua
journal, and my good-natured friend the editor was nea
overcome by the denunciation of those who were respo
sible for the organ's existence. My connection, and L
coln's too,—for he endorsed the trick,—with the publi
tion of the condemned article was eventually discover
and we were thereafter effectually prevented from getti
another line in the paper. The anti-slavery people quo
the article as having been endorsed by a Democratic ne
paper in Springfield, and Lincoln himself used it w
telling effect. He joined in the popular denunciati
expressing great astonishment that such a sentiment co
find lodgment in any paper in Illinois, although he kn
full well how the whole thing had been carried throu

During the remainder of the State-Fair week, speec
were made by Lyman Trumbull, Sidney Breese, E.
Taylor, and John Calhoun, none of which unfortunat
have been preserved. Among those who mingled in
crowd and listened to them was Owen Lovejoy, a radi
fiery, brave, fanatical man, it may be, but one full of
virus of Abolitionism. I had been thoroughly inocula
with the latter myself, and so had many others, who hel
to swell the throng. The Nebraska movement had k
dled anew the old zeal, and inspired us with renew
confidence to begin the crusade. As many of us as co
assembled together to organize for the campaign bef

As soon therefore as Lincoln finished his speech in hall of the House of Representatives, Lovejoy, moving ward from the crowd, announced a meeting in the same ce that evening of all the friends of Freedom. That of irse meant the Abolitionists with whom I had been in iference all the day. Their plan had been to induce r. Lincoln to speak for them at their meeting. Strong I was in the faith, yet I doubted the propriety of Lin-n's taking any stand yet. As I viewed it, he was am-ous to climb to the United States Senate, and on unds of policy it would not do for him to occupy at t time such advanced ground as we were taking. On other hand, it was equally as dangerous to refuse a ech for the Abolitionists. I did not know how he felt the subject, but on learning that Lovejoy intended to proach him with an invitation, I hunted up Lincoln and ged him to avoid meeting the enthusiastic champion of olitionism. "Go home at once," I said. "Take Bob th you and drive somewhere into the country and stay this thing is over." Whether my admonition and soning moved him or not I do not know, but it only nains to state that under pretence of having business in zewell County he drove out of town in his buggy, and not return till the apostles of Abolitionism had sepa-ed and gone to their homes.[2] I have always believed s little arrangement—it would dignify it too much to it a plan—saved Lincoln. If he had endorsed the olutions passed at the meeting, or spoken simply in

[2] In the Ottawa debate Lincoln made the following reference this incident: "I believe *this* is true about those resolutions. ere was a call for a Convention to form a Republican party Springfield, and I think that my friend Mr. Lovejoy, who is e upon this stand, had a hand in it. I think this is true, and ink if he will remember accurately, he will be able to recollect t he tried to get me into it, and I would not go in. I believe s also true that I went away from Springfield when the Con-tion was in session, to attend court in Tazewell County. It rue they did place my name, though without authority upon committee, and afterward wrote me to attend the meeting of committee; but I refused to do so, and I never had anything do with that organization."

favor of freedom that night, he would have been iden
fied with all the rancor and extremes of Abolitionis
If, on the contrary, he had been invited to join them, a
then had refused to take a position as advanced as thei
he would have lost their support. In either event he w
in great danger; and so he who was aspiring to succe
his old rival, James Shields, in the United States Sen
was forced to avoid the issue by driving hastily in his c
horse buggy to the court in Tazewell County. A singu
coincidence suggests itself in the fact that, twelve ye
before, James Shields and a friend drove hastily in t
same direction, and destined for the same point, to fo
Lincoln to take issue in another and entirely differe
matter.

By request of party friends Lincoln was induced to f
low after Douglas and, at the various places where t
latter had appointments to speak, reply to him. On t
16th of October they met at Peoria, where Douglas e
joyed the advantages of an "open and close." Linc
made an effective speech, which he wrote out and f
nished to the *Sangamon Journal* for publication, and wh
can be found among his public utterances. His pa
friends in Springfield and elsewhere, who had urged h
to push after Douglas till he cried "enough," were s
prised a few days after the Peoria debate to find him
home, with the information that by an agreement w
the latter they were both to return home and speak
more during the campaign. Judge of his astonishmen
few days later to find that his rival, instead of going di
to his home in Chicago, had stopped at Princeton a
violated his express agreement by making a speech the
Lincoln was much displeased at this action of Doug
which tended to convince him that the latter was reall
man devoid of fixed political morals. I remember
explanation in our office made to me, William Butler, W
liam Jayne, Ben F. Irwin, and other friends, to acco
for his early withdrawal from the stump. After
Peoria debate Douglas approached him and flattered
by saying that he was giving him more trouble on the te

ial and slavery questions than all the United States Sen-
. and he therefore proposed to him that both should
ndon the field and return to their homes. Now Lincoln
ld never refuse a polite request—one in which no prin-
le was involved. I have heard him say, "It's a for-
ate thing I wasn't born a woman, for I cannot refuse
thing, it seems." He therefore consented to the cessa-
ı of debate proposed by Douglas, and the next day
h went to the town of Lacon, where they had been
ed for speeches. Their agreement was kept from their
nds, and both declined to speak—Douglas, on the
und of hoarseness, and Lincoln gallantly refusing to
e advantage of "Judge Douglas's indisposition." Here
y separated, Lincoln going directly home, and Douglas,
before related, stopping at Princeton and colliding in
ate with Owen Lovejoy. Upon being charged after-
rds with his breech of agreement Douglas responded
t Lovejoy "bantered and badgered" him so persistently
could not gracefully resist the encounter. The whole
ng thoroughly displeased Lincoln.[3]

During this campaign Lincoln was nominated and elected
the Legislature. This was done in the face of his
willingness and over his protest. On the ticket with
ı was Judge Logan. Both were elected by a majority
about 600 votes. Lincoln, being ambitious to reach
United States Senate, and warmly encouraged in his
irations by his wife, resigned his seat in the Legislature
order that he might the more easily be elected to succeed

[2] On March 15, 1866, John H. Bryant of Princeton, Illinois,
te Herndon the following letter: "I have succeeded in finding
old file of our Princeton papers, from which I learn that
Douglas spoke here on Wednesday, Oct. 18, 1854. This
s the date. I recollect that he staid at Tiskilwa, six miles
h of this, the night before, and a number of our Democrats
t down the next morning and escorted him to this place.
glas spoke first one half-hour and was answered by Lovejoy
half-hour, when Douglas talked till dark, giving no oppor-
ty for reply."

[3] For a skeptical view of this episode as here related see Angle,
e Peoria Truce," in the Journal of the Illinois State Historical
iety, January, 1929.

his old rival James Shields, who was then one of t
senators from Illinois. His canvass for that exalted offi
was marked by his characteristic activity and vigilanc
During the anxious moments that intervened between t
general election and the assembling of the Legislature
slept, like Napoleon, with one eye open. While attendi
court at Clinton on the 11th of November, a few da
after the election, he wrote to a party friend in the tow
of Paris: "I have a suspicion that a Whig has been elect
to the Legislature from Edgar. If this is not so, wh
then, *'nix cum arous,'* but if it is so, then could you n
make a mark with him for me for U. S. Senator? I real
have some chance. Please write me at Springfield givi
me the names, post-offices, and political positions of yo
Representative and Senator, whoever they may be. L
this be confidential."

[Letters which have come to light since Herndon wro
reveal the intensity of Lincoln's campaign for the senato
ship, as well as his political methods. The day before t
foregoing letter was written he had informed an
supporter that "some friends here are really for me, f
the U. S. Senate, and I should be very grateful if y
could make a mark for me among your members. Plea
write me at all events giving me the names, post-offic
and *'political position'* of members round about you
Two weeks later he was asking a member of the Legislatu
to "think it over, and see whether you can do better th
go for me." A few days later a careful letter went
Joseph Gillespie of Edwardsville. "I have really got
into my head to try to be United States Senator," Li
coln confessed, "and, if I could have your support, n
chances would be reasonably good. But I know, and a
knowledge, that you have as just claims to the place as
have; and therefore I cannot ask you to yield to me,
you are thinking of becoming a candidate, yourself.
however, you are not; then I should like to be remembe
affectionately by you; and also to have you make a ma
for me with the Anti-Nebraska members, down yo
way." Lincoln added that he would like to know, if

pie had no objection to telling, whether Trumbull in-
ıded "to make a push."

The progress of Lincoln's campaign is described in
veral letters to Elihu B. Washburne of Galena. "As
my own matter, things continue to look reasonably
ll," he wrote on December 11. After mentioning a
nmittal for which Washburne was responsible he added,
have not ventured to write all the members in your
trict, lest some of them should be offended by the in-
icacy of the thing—that is, coming from a total stranger.
uld you not drop some of them a line?"

Three days later appearances were less encouraging.
mething must be wrong in Chicago, Lincoln told Wash-
rne, for he could not get a word from his best friends
re in reply to his letters. "Wentworth has a knack of
owing things better than most men. I wish you would
mp him, and write me what you get from him. Please
this as soon as you can, as the time is growing short."

Soon after the legislature organized Lincoln informed
ashburne of the political situation. "Besides the ten
a dozen on our side who are willing to be known as
ıdidates, I think there are fifty secretly watching for
chance. I do not know that it is much advantage to
ve the largest number of votes at the start. If I did
ow this to be an advantage, I should feel better, for I
ınot doubt that I have more committals than any other
n. Your district comes up tolerably well for me, but
t unanimously by any means. George Gage is for me,
you know. J. H. Adams is not committed to me, but
hink will be for me. Mr. Talcott will not be for me
a first choice. Dr. Little and Mr. Sargent are openly
me. Professor Pinckney is for me, but wishes to be
iet. Dr. Whitney writes me that Rev. Mr. Lawrence
l be for me, and his manner to me so indicates, but he
s not spoken it out. Mr. Swan I have some slight hopes
Turner says he is not committed, and I shall get him
enever I can make it appear to be his interest to go for
. Dr. Lyman and old Mr. Diggins will never go for
as first choice. M. P. Sweet is here as a candidate, and

I understand he claims he has twenty-two members com
mitted to him. I think some part of his estimate mus
be based on insufficient evidence, as I cannot well se
where they are to be found, and as I can learn the nam
of one only—Day of La Salle. Still it may be so. Ther
are more than twenty-two Anti-Nebraska members wh
are not committed to me. Tell Norton that Mr. Strun
and Mr. Wheeler come out plump for me, and for whic
I thank him. Judge Parks I have decided hopes of, bu
he says he is not committed. I understand myself a
having twenty-six committals, and I do not think any othe
one man has ten."]

That man who thinks Lincoln calmly sat down an
gathered his robes about him, waiting for the people t
call him, has a very erroneous knowledge of Lincoln. H
was always calculating, and always planning ahead. Hi
ambition was a little engine that knew no rest. The vici
situdes of a political campaign brought into play all h
tact and management and developed to its fullest exte
his latent industry. In common with other politicians h
never overlooked a newspaper man who had it in h
power to say a good or bad thing of him. The press o
that day was not so powerful an institution as now, bu
ambitious politicians courted the favor of a newspape
man with as much zeal as the same class of men have do
in later days. I remember a letter Lincoln once wrote
the editor of an obscure little country newspaper
southern Illinois in which he warms up to him in the fo
lowing style. "Friend Harding: I have been readi
your paper for three or four years and have paid yo
nothing for it." He then encloses ten dollars and a
monishes the editor with innocent complacency: "Put
into your pocket, saying nothing further about it." Ve
soon thereafter, he prepared an article on political matte
and sent it to the rural journalist, requesting its public
tion in the editorial columns of his "valued paper," b
the latter having followed Lincoln's directions and stow
the ten dollars away in his pocket, and alive to the i
portance of his journal's influence, declined, "because

said, "I long ago made it a rule to publish nothing as orial matter not written by myself." Lincoln read editor's answer to me. Although the laugh was on coln he enjoyed the joke heartily. "That editor," he , "has a rather lofty but proper conception of true rnalism."

Meanwhile the Legislature had convened and the Sena- ul question came on for solution. The history of this est is generally understood, and the world has repeat- been told how Lincoln was led to expect the place and ld have won but for the apostasy of the five Anti- raska men of Democratic antecedents who clung to finally forced the election of Lyman Trumbull. The lent of history in after years will be taught to revere name of Lincoln for his exceeding magnanimity in in- ing his friends to abandon him at the critical period save Trumbull, while he himself disappeared beneath waves of defeat.

In the following letter to Washburne Lincoln gives a iled account of his defeat:

"SPRINGFIELD, February 9, 1855.

MY DEAR SIR:—The agony is over at last, and the result doubtless know. I write this only to give you some par- ars to explain what might appear difficult of understand- I began with 44 votes, Shields 41, and Trumbull 5,—yet mbull was elected. In fact, 47 different members voted me,—getting three new ones on the second ballot, and g four old ones. How came my 47 to yield to Trumbull's It was Governor Matteson's work. He has been secretly ndidate ever since (before, even) the fall election. All members round about the canal were Anti-Nebraska but nevertheless nearly all Democrats and old personal friends is. His plan was to privately impress them with the be- that he was as good Anti-Nebraska as any one else,—at could be secured to be so by instructions, which could be y passed. In this way he got from four to six of that sort en to really prefer his election to that of any other man— *ub rosa*, of course. One notable instance of this sort was Mr. Strunk of Kankakee. At the beginning of the on he came a volunteer to tell me he was for me and

would walk a hundred miles to elect me; but lo! it was long before he leaked it out that he was going for me first few ballots and then was for Governor Matteson.

"The Nebraska men, of course, were not for Matteson; when they found they could elect no avowed Nebraska they tardily determined to let him get whomever of our he could, by whatever means he could, and ask him questions. In the mean time Osgood, Don. Morrison, Trapp of St. Clair had openly gone over from us. With united Nebraska force and their recruits, open and cover gave Matteson more than enough to elect him. We sa plainly ten days ago, but with every possible effort could head it off. All that remained of the Anti-Nebraska fo excepting Judd, Cook, Palmer, Baker and Allen of Mad and two or three of the secret Matteson men, would go caucus, and I could get the nomination of that caucus. the three senators and one of the two representatives a named 'could never vote for a Whig,' and this incensed s twenty Whigs to 'think' they would never vote for the of the five. So we stood, and so we went into the fight terday,—the Nebraska men very confident of the electio Matteson, though denying that he was a candidate, and very much believing also that they would elect him. But wanted first to make a show of good faith to Shields by vo for him a few times, and our secret Matteson men also wa to make a show of good faith by voting with us a few ti So we led off. On the seventh ballot, I think, the signal given to the Nebraska men to turn to Matteson, which acted on to a man, with one exception, my old friend St going with them, giving him 44 votes.

"Next ballot the remaining Nebraska man and one tended Anti went over to him, giving him 46. The next another, giving him 47, wanting only three of an elec In the mean time our friends, with a view of detaining expected bolters, had been turning from me to Trumbul he had risen to 35 and I had been reduced to 15. These w never desert me except by my direction; but I became s fied that if we could prevent Matteson's election one or ballots more, we could not possibly do so a single ballot my friends should begin to return to me from Trumbull. I determined to strike at once, and accordingly advised remaining friends to go for him, which they did and el him on the tenth ballot.

such is the way the thing was done. I think you would done the same under the circumstances; though Judge is, who came down this morning, declares he never would consented to the forty-seven men being controlled by the I regret my defeat moderately, but I am not nervous t it. I could have headed off every combination and elected, had it not been for Matteson's double game— his defeat now gives me more pleasure than my own gives ain. On the whole, it is perhaps as well for our general e that Trumbull is elected. The Nebraska men confess they hate it worse than anything that could have hapd. It is a great consolation to see them worse whipped I am. I tell them it is their own fault—that they had dant opportunity to choose between him and me, which declined, and instead forced it on me to decide between and Matteson.[4]

With my grateful acknowledgments for the kind, active, continued interest you have taken for me in this matter, me to subscribe myself.

"Yours forever,

"A. LINCOLN."

he spirit in which Lincoln accepted defeat is shown small item in the *Illinois Journal* a week after the ion. "A large number of anti-Nebraska members of Legislature met on yesterday," the paragraph reads, partook of a dinner provided by the liberality of Mr. oln, at which there was besides good eating, good ches made, and excellent sentiments offered. The r passed off very pleasantly."]

his frustration of Lincoln's ambition had a marked ef- on his political views. It was plain to him now that the epressible conflict" was not far ahead. With the

[4] In a footnote in the original edition Herndon printed a letter Joseph Gillespie dated September 19, 1866, describing this on. Gillespie's account coincides with Lincoln's, but he that "S. T. Logan gave up Lincoln with great reluctance. egged hard to try him on one or two ballots more, but Mr. oln urged us not to risk it longer. I never saw the latter earnest and decided. He congratulated Trumbull warmly, ugh of course greatly disappointed and mortified at his want of success."

strengthening of his faith in a just cause so long held
abeyance he became more defiant each day. But in
very nature of things he dared not be as bold and o
spoken as I. With him every word and sentence had
be weighed and its effects calculated, before being uttere
but with me that operation had to be reversed if d
at all. An incident that occurred about this time will sh
how his views were broadening. Some time after
election of Trumbull a young negro, the son of a colo
woman in Springfield known as Polly, went from his ho
to St. Louis and there hired as a hand on a lower Miss
sippi boat,—for what special service, I do not recollect
arriving in New Orleans without what were known
free papers. Though born free he was subjected to
tyranny of the "black code," all the more stringent beca
of the recent utterances of the Abolitionists in the No
and was kept in prison until his boat had left. Then,
no one was especially interested in him, he was forgott
After a certain length of time established by law, he wo
inevitably have been sold in slavery to defray prison
penses had not Lincoln and I interposed our aid.
mother came to us with the story of the wrong done
son and induced us to interfere in her behalf. We w
first to see the Governor of Illinois, who, after pati
and thorough examination of the law, responded that
had no right or power to interfere. Recourse was t
had to the Governor of Louisiana, who responded in
manner. We were sorely perplexed. A second interv
with the Governor of Illinois resulting in nothing favora
Lincoln rose from his chair, hat in hand, and exclai
with some emphasis: "By God, Governor, I'll make
ground in this country too hot for the foot of a sl
whether you have the legal power to secure the release
this boy or not." Having exhausted all legal means
recover the negro we dropped our relation as lawyer
the case. Lincoln drew up a subscription-list, whic
circulated, collecting funds enough to purchase the yo
man's liberty. The money we sent to Col. A. P. Fiel

nd of ours in New Orleans, who applied it as directed, it restored the prisoner to his overjoyed mother.

he political history of the country, commencing in and continuing until the outbreak of the Rebellion, ishes the student a constant succession of stirring sometimes bloody scenes. No sooner had Lincoln rged from the senatorial contest in February, 1855, absorbed himself in the law, than the outrages on the ers of Missouri and Kansas began to arrest public ntion. The stories of raids, election frauds, murders, other crimes were moving eastward with marked dity. These outbursts of frontier lawlessness, led and tioned by the avowed pro-slavery element, were not stirring up the Abolitionists to fever heat, but touch- he hearts of humanity in general. In Illinois an asso- on was formed to aid the cause of "Free-Soil" men in sas. In the meetings of these bands the Abolitionists ourse took the most prominent part. At Springfield were energetic, vigilant, almost revolutionary. We mmended the employment of any means, however erate, to promote and defend the cause of freedom. one of these meetings Lincoln was called on for a ch. He responded to the request, counselling modera- and less bitterness in dealing with the situation before We were belligerent in tone, and clearly out of pa- e with the Government. Lincoln opposed the notion coercive measures with the possibility of resulting dshed, advising us to eschew resort to the bullet. u can better succeed," he declared, "with the ballot. can peaceably then redeem the Government and pre- e the liberties of mankind through your votes and e and moral influence. . . . Let there be peace. Revo- nize through the ballot box, and restore the Govern- once more to the affections and hearts of men by ng it express, as it was intended to do, the highest t of justice and liberty. Your attempt, if there be to resist the laws of Kansas by force is criminal and ed; and all your feeble attempts will be follies and

end in bringing sorrow on your heads and ruin the ca you would freely die to preserve!" These judicious wo of counsel, while they reduced somewhat our ardor a our desperation, only placed before us in their real col the grave features of the situation. We raised a neat s of money, Lincoln showing his sincerity by joining the subscription, and forwarded it to our friends Kansas.[5]

The Whig party, having accomplished its mission in political world, was now on the eve of a great break- Lincoln realized this and, though proverbially slow in movements, prepared to find a firm footing when the gr rush of waters should come and the maddening fres sweep former landmarks out of sight. Of the strong significance in this connection is a letter written by him this juncture to an old friend in Kentucky (Joshua Speed), who called to his attention their differences views on the wrong of slavery. Speaking of his obser tion of the treatment of the slaves, he says: "I confes hate to see the poor creatures hunted down and cau and carried back to their unrequited toils; but I bite lips and keep quiet. In 1841 you and I had rather a tedi low-water trip on a steamboat from Louisville to St. Lo You may remember, as I well do, that from Louisville the mouth of the Ohio, there were on board ten or a do slaves shackled together with irons. That sight was a c tinued torment to me; and I see something like it ev time I touch the Ohio or any slave border. It is not for you to assume that I have no interest in a thing wh has, and continually exercises, the power of making miserable. You ought rather to appreciate how much

[5] On October 24, 1860, Lincoln wrote his own account of episode to J. C. Lee: ". . . I never gave fifty dollars, nor dollar, nor one cent, for the object you mention, or any object. I once *subscribed* twenty-five dollars, to be paid when Judge Logan would decide it was necessary to enable the pe of Kansas to defend themselves against any force coming aga them from without the Territory, and not by authority of United States. Logan never made the decision, and I never a dollar on the subscription."

t body of the Northern people do crucify their feelings rder to maintain their loyalty to the Constitution and Union. I do oppose the extension of slavery because udgment and feeling so prompt me; and I am under no ation to the contrary. If for this you and I must r, differ we must."

nding himself drifting about with the disorganized ents that floated together after the angry political rs had subsided, it became apparent to Lincoln that expected to figure as a leader he must take a stand elf. Mere hatred of slavery and opposition to the stice of the Kansas-Nebraska legislation were not all were required of him. He must be a Democrat, w-Nothing, Abolitionist, or Republican, or forever about in the great political sea without compass, rud- or sail. At length he declared himself. Believing the s were ripe for more advanced movements, in the ng of 1856 I drew up a paper for the friends of free- to sign, calling a county convention in Springfield to t delegates for the forthcoming Republican State ention in Bloomington. The paper was freely circu- and generously signed. Lincoln was absent at the and, believing I knew what his "feeling and judg- " on the vital questions of the hour were, I took the ty to sign his name to the call. The whole was then shed in the Springfield *Journal*. No sooner had it ared than John T. Stuart, who, with others, was en- oring to retard Lincoln in his advanced movements, ed into the office and excitedly asked if "Lincoln had d the Abolition call in the *Journal?*" I answered in negative, adding that I had signed his name myself. he question, "Did Lincoln authorize you to sign it?" turned an emphatic "No." "Then," exclaimed the led and indignant Stuart, "you have ruined him." But s by no means alarmed at what others deemed in- derate and hasty action. I thought I understood oln thoroughly, but in order to vindicate myself if led I immediately sat down, after Stuart had rushed of the office, and wrote Lincoln, who was then in

Tazewell County attending court, a brief account of w
I had done and how much stir it was creating in the ra
of his conservative friends. If he approved or disappro
my course I asked him to write or telegraph me at on
In a brief time came his answer: "All right; go ahe
Will meet you—radicals and all." Stuart subsided, a
the conservative spirits who hovered around Springfi
no longer held control of the political fortunes of Ab
ham Lincoln.

The Republican party came into existence in Illinois
a party at Bloomington, May 29, 1856. The State c
vention of all opponents of Anti-Nebraska legislation,
ferred to in a foregoing paragraph, had been set for t
day. Judd, Yates, Trumbull, Swett, and Davis w
there; so also was Lovejoy, who, like Otis of colo
fame, was a flame of fire. The firm of Lincoln
Herndon was represented by both members in pers
The gallant William H. Bissell, who had ridden at
head of the Second Illinois Regiment at the battle
Buena Vista in the Mexican war, was nominated as g
ernor.—The convention adopted a platform ringing w
strong Anti-Nebraska sentiments, and then and there g
the Republican party its official christening. The busi
of the convention being over, Mr. Lincoln, in response
repeated calls, came forward and delivered a speech
such earnestness and power that no one who heard it
ever forget the effect it produced. In referring to
speech some years ago I used the fellowing rather gra
language: "I have heard or read all of Mr. Lincoln's g
speeches, and I give it as my opinion that the Bloomi
ton speech was the grand effort of this life. Heretofor
had simply argued the slavery question on grounds
policy,—the statesman's grounds,—never reaching
question of the radical and the eternal right. Now
was newly baptized and freshly born; he had the
vor of a new convert; the smothered flame broke
enthusiasm unusual to him blazed up; his eyes were ag
with an inspiration; he felt justice; his heart was aliv
the right; his sympathies, remarkably deep for him, b

n, and he stood before the throne of the eternal
t. His speech was full of fire and energy and force;
as logic; it was pathos; it was enthusiasm; it was
ce, equity, truth, and right set ablaze by the divine
of a soul maddened by the wrong; it was hard, heavy,
ry, gnarly, backed with wrath. I attempted for about
en minutes as was usual with me then to take notes,
at the end of that time I threw pen and paper away
lived only in the inspiration of the hour. If Mr.
oln was six feet, four inches high usually, at Bloom-
on that day he was seven feet, and inspired at that.
n that day to the day of his death he stood firm in the
. He felt his great cross, had his great idea, nursed
ept it, taught it to others, in his fidelity bore witness
to his death, and finally sealed it with his precious
d." The foregoing paragraph, used by me in a lecture
866, may to the average reader seem somewhat vivid
escription, besides inclining to extravagance in im-
y, yet although more than twenty years have passed
e it was written I have never seen the need of altering
ngle sentence. I still adhere to the substantial truth-
ess of the scene as described. Unfortunately Lincoln's
ch was never written out nor printed, and we are
ed to depend for its reproduction upon personal
llection.

Only one contemporary report of Lincoln's address is
wn to exist, and that was published in the *Alton*
rier for June 5, 1856. "Abraham Lincoln of Sanga-
came upon the platform amid deafening applause,"
editor wrote. "He enumerated the pressing reasons
e present movement. He was here ready to fuse with
ne who would unite with him to oppose slave power;
e of the bugbear of disunion which was so vaguely
ntened. It was to be remembered that the Union
be preserved in the purity of its principles as well
e integrity of territorial parts. It must be *'Liberty
Union now and forever, one and inseparable.'* The
ment in favor of white slavery now prevailed in all

the slave state papers, except those of Kentucky, Tenn
see, and Missouri and Maryland. Such was the progr
of National Democracy. Douglas once claimed agai
him that Democracy favored more than his principles,
individual rights of man. Was it not strange that he m
stand there now to defend those rights against their f
mer eulogist? The Black Democracy were endeavor
to cite Henry Clay to reconcile old Whigs to their doctr
and repaid them with the very cheap compliment of
tional Whigs."

That Herndon's editorial eulogy of Lincoln's spe
had a real basis in fact is indicated by the comment of
Chicago Democratic Press. "For an hour and a ha
the reporter wrote, "he held the assemblage spell-bo
by the power of his argument, the intense irony of
invective, and the deep earnestness and fervid brillia
of his eloquence. When he concluded, the audie
sprang to their feet, and cheer after cheer told how dee
their hearts had been touched, and their souls warmed
to a generous enthusiasm."]

The Bloomington convention and the part Lincoln t
in it met no such hearty response in Springfield as
hoped would follow. It fell flat, and in Lincoln's
drove from him many persons who had heretofore b
his warm political friends. A few days after our return
announced a meeting at the courthouse to ratify the
tion of the Bloomington convention. After the usual
forts to draw a crowd, however, only three persons
temerity enough to attend. They were Lincoln, the wr
and a courageous man named John Pain. Lincoln
answer to the "deafening calls" for a speech, respon
that the meeting was larger than he *knew* it would be,
that while he knew that he himself and his partner w
attend he was not sure anyone else would, and yet ano
man had been found brave enough to come out. "W
all seems dead," he exhorted, "the age itself is not.
liveth as sure as our Maker liveth. Under all this seen
want of life and motion, the world does move never

Be hopeful, and now let us adjourn and appeal to people."[6]

ot only in Springfield but everywhere else the found- of the Republican party—the apostles of freedom— out to battle for the righteousness of their cause. oln, having as usual been named as one of the Presi- al electors, canvassed the State, making in all about speeches. He was in demand everywhere. I have

[6] his paragraph constitutes the one exception to my statement Editor's Preface, p. xxxviii) that when Herndon states a fact his own knowledge, it may be relied upon as true. The *is State Journal,* in its issue of June 11, 1856, contains the ving paragraph: "The Court House was filled to overflowing a very intelligent audience, last evening, assembled for the se of ratifying the nominations of the People's Anti-Ne- a Convention. Many were obliged to leave because they not obtain seats, while a large number stood in the aisles ours. It having been announced that several gentlemen address the meeting, Hon. A. Lincoln took the stand and unced the most logical and finished argument against the to be apprehended from the continued aggressions of the power, that it has ever been our good fortune to listen to. hall not mar its beauty by an attempt to give a synopsis The speaker's manner was calm and unimpassioned, he ring rather to appeal to the reason than to excite the feel- of his hearers. He brought his remarks to a close at about clock, and introduced Hon. John M. Palmer of Macoupin, successfully exposed the tortuous course that Messrs. Doug- Richardson and Harris have pursued on the question of Missouri Compromise, and which has resulted in the dis- n of the once powerful and patriotic Democratic party—a ent now proclaiming that slavery has become national and m sectional, and the original element, to which he still affinity, resisting this infamous doctrine now as hereto- Mr. Palmer made many friends last night." Even the *is State Register,* whose business it was, as a Democratic to belittle everything Republican, admitted in its issue une 12 that two hundred had attended the meeting.

is possible, of course, that Herndon's story refers to an meeting which had been planned and which failed, but eems very unlikely. The contradiction seems inexplicable. ver, on the strength of this one exception, clear-cut though I have not seen fit to modify an hypothesis the soundness hich is indicated by all other tests.

before me a package of letters addressed to him, invit
him to speak at almost every county seat in the St
Yates wanted him to go to one section of the State, Wa
burne to another, and Trumbull still another; while ev
cross-roads politician and legislative aspirant wanted
"down in our country, where we need your help." Jos
R. Giddings wrote him words of encouragement. "
may start," said the valiant old Abolitionist in a letter fr
Peoria, "on the one great issue of restoring Kansas
Nebraska to freedom, or rather of restoring the Miss
Compromise, and in this State no power on earth
withstand you on that issue." The demand for Linc
was not confined to his own State. Indiana sent for h
Wisconsin also, while Norman B. Judd and Ebene
Peck, who were stumping Iowa, sent for him to c
there. A town committee invited him to come dur
"our Equestrian Fair on the 9th, 10th, and 11th,"
dently anticipating a three days' siege. An enthusia
officer in a neighboring town urges him: "Come to
place, because in you do our people place more confide
than in any other man. Men who do not read want
story told as you only can tell it. Others may make
speeches, but it would not be 'Lincoln said so in
speech'." A jubilant friend in Chicago writes: "P
on the column of freedom. Give the Buck Africans ple
to do in Egypt. The hour of our redemption draw
nigh. We are coming to Springfield with 20,000
jority!" A postmaster, acting under the courage of
convictions, implores him to visit his neighborhood. "
Democrats here," he insists, "are dyed in the w
Thunder and lightning would not change their poli
complexion. I am postmaster here," he adds, confi
tially, "for which reason I must ask you to keep this
vate, for if old Frank (President Pierce) were to hea
my support of Fremont I would get my walking pa
sure enough." A settlement of Germans in southern
diana asked to hear him; and the president of a col
in an invitation to address the students under his cha
characterizes him as "one providentially raised up f

like this, and even should defeat come in the contest, uld be some consolation to remember we had Hector leader."

id thus it was everywhere. Lincoln's importance in the uct of the campaign was apparent to all, and his can- was characterized by his usual vigor and effectiveness. vas especially noted for his attempt to break down the gth of Fillmore, who was nominated as a third party idate and was expected to divide the Republican vote. ried to wean away Fillmore's adherents by an adroit ngenious letter sent to those suspected of the latter's ort, and marked confidential, in which he strove to that in clinging to their candidate they were really g the election of Buchanan.

ne of these letters which Lincoln wrote to counteract Fillmore movement is still in my possession. As it ore or less characteristic I copy it entire:

"SPRINGFIELD, September 8, 1856.

RRISON MALTBY, ESQ.

EAR SIR:

understand you are a Fillmore man. Let me prove to hat every vote withheld from Fremont and given to Fill- in this State actually lessens Fillmore's chance of being dent.

uppose Buchanan gets all the slave States and Pennsyl- and any other one State besides; then he is elected, no r who gets all the rest. But suppose Fillmore gets the lave States of Maryland and Kentucky, then Buchanan elected; Fillmore goes into the House of Representatives nay be made President by a compromise. But suppose Fillmore's friend throw away a few thousand votes on n Indiana and Illinois; it will inevitably give these States uchanan, which will more than compensate him for the of Maryland and Kentucky; it will elect him, and leave ore no chance in the House of Representatives or out

his is as plain as adding up the weight of three small As Mr. Fillmore has no possible chance to carry is for himself it is plainly to his interest to let Fremont it and thus keep it out of the hands of Buchanan. Be

not deceived. Buchanan is the hard horse to beat in this r
Let him have Illinois, and nothing can beat him; and he
get Illinois if men persist in throwing away votes upon
Fillmore. Does some one persuade you that Mr. Fillm
can carry Illinois? Nonsense! There are over seventy ne
papers in Illinois opposing Buchanan, only three or four
which support Mr. Fillmore, all the rest going for Frem
Are not these newspapers a fair index of the proportion
the votes? If not, tell me why.

"Again, of these three or four Fillmore newspapers, tw
least are supported in part by the Buchanan men, as I un
stand. Do not they know where the shoe pinches? T
know the Fillmore movement helps them, and therefore
help it.

"Do think these things over and then act according to y
judgment.

"Yours very truly,
"A. LINCOLN."

(Confidential)

But the effort proved unavailing, for in spite of all
arguments and appeals a large number of the Fillmore
clung tenaciously to their leader, resulting in Buchan
election. The vote in Illinois stood, Buchanan 105,
Fremont 96,180, and Fillmore 37,451. At the same
Bissell was elected governor by a majority of 4,729
W. A. Richardson, Democrat. After the heat and bu
of the day Lincoln returned home, bearing with him n
and greater laurels than ever. The signs of the ti
indicated, and the result of the canvass demonstrated,
he and he alone was powerful enough to meet the
doubtable Little Giant in a greater conflict yet to foll

[7] Lincoln had this letter lithographed and sent it broa
over the state, filling in the name of the addressee and signi
in his own hand. So cleverly was it done that even today,
his own handwriting has faded from black to brown, it
pass for an autograph letter under any but the most cr
inspection. In the original edition Herndon used the letter
footnote.

APTER THIRTEEN

LL BE FORCED TO OMIT MUCH THAT HAPPENED DUR-
ıe interval between the election of Buchanan and the
ıign of 1858, for the reason that it would not only
this work to undue proportions, but be a mere repe-
of what has been better told by other writers. It
per to note in passing, however, that Mr. Lincoln's
ation as a political speaker was no longer bounded by
order lines of Illinois. It had passed beyond the
sh, the Ohio, and the Mississippi rivers, and while
ronounced stand on the slavery question had in-
d the circle of his admirers in the North it provoked a
rtionate amount of execration in the South. He could
lp the feeling that he was now the leading Republican
State, and he was therefore more or less jealous of
rerogative. Formidable in debate, plain in speech,
ut pretence of literary acquirements, he was none the
elf-reliant. He already envied the ascendency and
ation Douglas exercised over his followers, and felt
the slight given him by others of his own faith
he conceived were disposed to prevent his attaining
adership of his party. I remember early in 1858
coming into the office one morning and speaking
y dejected terms of the treatment he was receiving
hands of Horace Greeley. "I think Greeley," he
ained, "is not doing me right. His conduct, I be-
savors a little of injustice. I am a true Republican
ave been tried already in the hottest part of the anti-
y fight, and yet I find him taking up Douglas, a
ble dodger,—once a tool of the South, now its enemy,
pushing him to the front. He forgets that when

he does that he pulls me down at the same time. I fe
Greeley's attitude will damage me with Sumner, Sewa
Wilson, Phillips, and other friends in the East." This w
said with so much of mingled sadness and earnestness th
I was deeply impressed. Lincoln was gloomy and restle
the entire day. Greeley's letters were driving the e
thusiasm out of him.[1] He seemed unwilling to attend
any business, and finally, just before noon, left the offi
going over to the United States Court room to play
game of chess with Judge Treat, and did not return aga
that day. I pondered a good deal over Lincoln's dejectio
and that night, after weighing the matter well in mind,
solved to go to the eastern States myself and endeavor
sound some of the great men there. The next day,
apprising Lincoln of my determination, he questioned
propriety. Our relations, he insisted, were so intim
that a wrong construction might be put upon the mo
ment. I listened carefully to him, but as I had never be
beyond the Alleghanies I packed my valise and went, n
withstanding his objections. I had been in correspondei
on my own account with Greeley, Seward, Sumner, Ph
lips, and others for several years, had kept them inform
of the feelings of our people and the political campaig
in their various stages, but had never met any of th

[1] Herndon printed the following example in the original edit
as a footnote:

"I have not proposed to instruct the Republicans of Illinois
their political duties, and I doubt very much that even so m
as is implied in your letter can be fairly deduced from anyth
I have written. Now let me make one prediction. If you ru
candidate [for Congress] against Harris and he is able to c
vass *he will beat you badly*. He is more of a man at heart
morally than Douglas, and has gone into this fight with m
earnestness and less calculation. Of the whole Douglas pa
he is the truest and best. I never spoke a dozen words
him in my life, having met him but once, but if I lived in
district I should vote for him. As I have never spoken of
in my paper, and suppose I never shall, I take the liberty
say this much to you. Now paddle your own dug-out!

"Yours,

"HORACE GREELEY

e Greeley. I enjoyed heartily the journey and the ied sights and scenes that attended it. Aside from my sion, the trip was a great success. The magnificent dings, the display of wealth in the large cities and sperous manufacturing towns, broadened the views of whose vision had never extended beyond the limits the Illinois prairies. In Washington I saw and dined h Trumbull, who went over the situation with me. umbull had written to Lincoln shortly before that he ught it "useless to speculate upon the further course of uglas or the effect it is to have in Illinois or other tes. He himself does not know where he is going or ere he will come out." At my interview with Trum-, however, he directed me to assure Mr. Lincoln that uglas did not mean to join the Republican party, how-r great the breach between himself and the administra- might be. "We Republicans here," he said exultingly nother letter to Lincoln, "are in good spirits, and are nding back to let the fight go on between Douglas and former associates. Lincoln will lose nothing by this e can keep the attention of our Illinois people from be- diverted from the great and vital question of the day he minor and temporary issues which are now being ussed." In Washington I saw also Seward, Wilson, others of equal prominence. Douglas was confined to house by illness, but on receiving my card he directed to be shown up to his room. We had a pleasant and resting interview. Of course the conversation soon ned on Lincoln. In answer to an inquiry regarding the er I remarked that Lincoln was pursuing the even tenor his way. "He is not in anybody's way," I contended, t even in yours, Judge Douglas." He was sitting up chair smoking a cigar. Between puffs he responded neither was he in the way of Lincoln or any one else, did not intend to invite conflict. He conceived that had achieved what he had set out to do, and hence did feel that his course need put him in opposition to Mr. coln or his party. "Give Mr. Lincoln my regards," aid, rather warmly, "when you return, and tell him I

have crossed the river and burned my boat." Leavi
Washington, my next point was New York, where I m
the editor of the *Anti-Slavery Standard,* Horace Greel
Henry Ward Beecher, and others. I had a long talk w
Greeley, whom I noticed leaned toward Douglas. I fou
however, he was not at all hostile to Lincoln. I present
the latter's case in the best phase I knew how, but whil
drew but little from him, I left feeling that he hadn't be
entirely won over. He introduced me to Beecher, wh
as everybody else did, inquired after Lincoln and throu
me sent him words of encouragement and praise. (L
coln's greatest fear was that Douglas might be taken
by the Republicans. Senator Seward, when I met him
Washington, assured me there was no danger of it, insi
ing that the Republicans nor anyone else could place a
reliance on a man so slippery as Douglas.)[2] From N
York I went to Boston, and from the latter place I wr
Lincoln a letter which happily I found not long si
in a bundle of Lincoln's letters, and which I insert he
believing it affords a better reflex of the situation at
time than anything I might see fit to say now. Here it

"Revere House,

"Boston, Mass., March 24, 185

"Friend Lincoln.

"I am in this city of notions, and am well—very well inde
I wrote you a hasty letter from Washington some days a
since which time I have been in Philadelphia, Baltimore, N
York, and now here. I saw Greeley, and so far as any
our conversation is interesting to you I will relate. And
talked, say twenty minutes. He evidently wants Doug
sustained and sent back to the Senate. He did not say so
so many words, yet his *feelings* are with Douglas. I *know*
from the spirit and drift of his conversation. He talked
terly—somewhat so—against the papers in Illinois, and
they were fools. I asked him this question, 'Greeley, do
want to see a third party organized, or do you want Doug
to ride to power through the North, which he has so m

[2] The sentences in parentheses were used as a footnote in
original edition.

sed and betrayed?' and to which he replied, 'Let the re alone; it will all come right. Douglas is a brave man. get the past and sustain the *righteous*.' Good God, *right-s*, eh!

Since I have landed in Boston I have seen much that was rtaining and interesting. This morning I was introduced Governor Banks. He and I had a conversation about Re-licanism and especially about Douglas. He asked me this stion, 'You will sustain Douglas in Illinois, wont you?' to which I said *'No, never!'* He affected to be much sur-ed, and so the matter dropped and turned on Republican-, or in general—Lincoln. Greeley's and other sheets that Douglas, Harris, *et al.*, want them sustained, and will *try* lo it. Several persons have asked me the same question ch Banks asked, and evidently they get their cue, ideas, or t not from Greeley, Seward, *et al.* By-the-bye, Greeley arked to me this, 'The Republican standard is too high; want something practical.'

This may not be interesting to you, but however it may it is my duty to state what is going on, so that you may d it off—counteract it in some way. I hope it can be done. e northern men are cold to me—somewhat repellent.

"Your friend,

"W. H. HERNDON."

On my return home I had encouraging news to relate. old Lincoln of the favorable mention I had heard of by Phillips, Sumner, Seward, Garrison, Beecher, and eley. I brought with me additional sermons and lec-es by Theodore Parker, who was warm in his commen-on of Lincoln. One of these was a lecture on "The ect of Slavery on the American People," which was vered in the Music Hall in Boston, and which I gave Lincoln, who read and returned it. He liked especially following expression, which he marked with a pencil, which he in substance afterwards used in his Gettys-g address: "Democracy is direct self-government, over the people, for all the people, by all the people."

Meanwhile, passing by other events which have become rwoven in the history of the land, we reach April, 8, at which time the Democratic State convention met

and, besides nominating candidates for State offices, e
dorsed Mr. Douglas' services in the Senate, thereby v
tually renominating him for that exalted office. In t
very nature of things Lincoln was the man already chos
in the hearts of the Republicans of Illinois for the sa
office, and therefore with singular appropriateness th
passed, with great unanimity, at their convention in Sprin
field on the 16th of June, the characteristic resolutio
"That Hon. Abraham Lincoln is our first and only cho
for United States Senator to fill the vacancy about to
created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas' term of
fice." There was of course no surprise in this for M
Lincoln. He had been all along led to expect it, and w
that in view had been earnestly and quietly at work p
paring a speech in acknowledgment of the honor ab
to be conferred on him. This speech he wrote on st
envelopes and scraps of paper, as ideas suggested the
selves, putting them into that miscellaneous and conv
ient receptacle, his hat. As the convention drew near
copied the whole on connected sheets, carefully revis
every line and sentence, and fastened them together,
reference during the delivery of the speech, and for p
lication. The former precaution, however, was unnec
sary, for he had studied and read over what he had writ
so long and carefully that he was able to deliver it with
the least hesitation or difficulty. A few days before
convention, when he was at work on the speech, I
member that Jesse K. Dubois,[8] who was Auditor of St
came into the office and, seeing Lincoln busily writi
inquired what he was doing or what he was writing. L
coln answered gruffly, "It's something you may see or h

[8] In an undated manuscript Jesse K. Dubois made the follo
statement, which Herndon published as a footnote in the orig
edition: "After the convention Lincoln met me on the st
and said, 'Dubois, I can tell you now what I was doing the o
day when you came into my office. I was writing that spe
and I knew if I read the passage about the "house divided aga
itself" to you, you would ask me to change or modify it,
that I was determined not to do. I had willed it so, and
willing if necessary to perish with it.'"

ietime, but I'll not let you see it now." I myself knew
it he was writing, but having asked neither my opinion
that of anyone else, I did not venture to offer any sug-
ions. After he had finished the final draft of the speech,
ocked the office door, drew the curtain across the glass
el in the door, and read it to me. At the end of each
agraph he would halt and wait for my comments. I
ember what I said after hearing the first paragraph,
rein occurs the celebrated figure of the house divided
nst itself: "It is true, but is it wise or politic to say
" He responded: "That expression is a truth of all
an experience, 'a house divided against itself cannot
d,' and 'he that runs may read.' The proposition also
rue, and has been for six thousand years. I want to
some universally known figure expressed in simple
guage as universally well-known, that may strike home
he minds of men in order to raise them up to the peril
he times. I do not believe I would be right in chang-
or omitting it. I would rather be defeated with this
ression in the speech, and uphold and discuss it before
people, than be victorious without it." This was not
first time Lincoln had endorsed the dogma that our
ernment could not long endure part slave and part
. He had incorporated it in a speech at Bloomington
856, but in obedience to the emphatic protest of Judge
Lyle Dickey and others, who conceived the idea that
delivery would make abolitionists of all the North and
ery propagandists of all the South, and thereby precipi-
a struggle which might end in disunion," he consented
uspend its repetition, but only for that campaign.[4] Now,

[4] In a letter dated December 8, 1866, written to Herndon and
by him as a footnote in the original edition, T. Lyle Dickey
e: "After the meeting was over Mr. Lincoln and I returned
ne Pike House, where we occupied the same room. Imme-
ly on reaching the room I said to him, 'What in God's name
induce you to promulgate such an opinion?' He replied
liarly, 'Upon my soul, Dickey, I think it is true.' I reasoned
ow it was not a correct opinion. He argued strenuously
the opinion was a sound one. At length I said, 'Suppose
are right, that our Government cannot last part free and part

however, the situation had changed somewhat. There h
been a shifting of scenes, so to speak. The Republic
party had gained some in strength and more in moral e
fectiveness and force. Nothing could keep back in Li
coln any longer, sentiments of right and truth, and he pr
pared to give the fullest expression to both in all futu
cases.

Before delivering his speech he invited a dozen or
of his friends over to the library of the State Hou
where he read and submitted it to them. After the rea
ing he asked each man for his opinion. Some condemn
and not one endorsed it. One man, more forcible th
elegant, characterized it as a "d—d fool utterance;" a
other said the doctrine was "ahead of its time;" and s
another contended that it would drive away a good ma
voters fresh from the Democrats ranks. Each man
tacked it in his criticism. I was the last to respond. A
though the doctrine announced was rather rank, yet
suited my views, and I said, "Lincoln, deliver that spee
as read and it will make you President." At the time
hardly realized the force of my prophecy. Having
tiently listened to these various criticisms from his frien
—all of which with a single exception were adverse—
rose from his chair, and after alluding to the careful stu
and intense thought he had given the question, he answe
all their objections substantially as follows: "Friends, t
thing has been retarded long enough. The time has co
when these sentiments should be uttered; and if it is
creed that I should go down because of this speech, th
let me go down linked to the truth—let me die in the
vocacy of what is just and right." The next day, the 17
the speech was delivered just as we had heard it re
Up to this time Seward had held sway over the North

slave, what good is to be accomplished by inculcating that opi
(or truth, if you please) in the minds of the people?' After s
minutes reflection he rose and approached me, extended his r
hand to take mine, and said, 'From respect for your judgm
Dickey, I'll promise you I won't teach the doctrine again du
this campaign'."

"higher-law" sentiments, but the "house-divided-inst-itself" speech by Lincoln in my opinion drove the into Seward's political coffin.[5]

f any student of oratorical history, after reading coln's speech on this occasion, will refer to Webster's ly to Hayne in the Senate, he will be struck with the ilarity in figure and thought in the opening lines of h speeches. In fact, it may not be amiss to note that, his instance, Webster's effort was carefully read by coln and served in part as his model.

Lincoln had now created in reality a more profound im-ssion than he or his friends anticipated. Many Repub-ns deprecated the advanced ground he had taken, the re so as the Democrats rejoiced that it afforded them issue clear and well-defined. Numbers of his friends ant from Springfield, on reading his speech, wrote censorious letters; and one well-informed co-worker eonard Swett) predicted his defeat, charging it to the t ten lines of the speech. These complaints, coming arently from every quarter, Lincoln bore with great ence. To one complainant who followed him into his ce he said proudly, "If I had to draw a pen across my ord, and erase my whole life from sight, and I had one r gift or choice left as to what I should save from the ck, I should choose that speech and leave it to the world rased."

Meanwhile Douglas had returned from Washington to home in Chicago. Here he rested for a few days until friends and co-workers had arranged the details of ublic reception on the 9th of July, when he delivered m the balcony of the Tremont House a speech intended an answer to the one made by Lincoln in Springfield. coln was present at this reception, but took no part

In all probability, Herndon's foresight was not quite so arkable as he later remembered it to have been. On October 4, , in a letter to Theodore Parker, he commented on Parker's ce of Seward, Chase or Trumbull for the next Republican inee as follows: "In answer to this I say 'we of the West e no choice—we do not care who it is, so that he is a good ublican'," and so forth. Newton, *Lincoln and Herndon*, p. 222.

in it. The next day, however, he replied. Both speech
were delivered at the same place. Leaving Chicago, Dou
las passed on down to Bloomington and Springfield, whe
he spoke on the 16th and 17th of July respectively. On t
evening of the latter day Lincoln responded again in
most effective and convincing effort. The contest no
took on a different phase. Lincoln's Republican frien
urged him to draw Douglas into a joint debate, a
he accordingly sent him a challenge on the 24th
July. It is not necessary, I suppose, to reproduce he
the correspondence that passed between these great leade
On the 30th Douglas finally accepted the proposition
"divide time, and address the same audiences," nami
seven different places, one in each Congressional distri
outside of Chicago and Springfield, for joint meetin
The places and dates were, Ottawa, August 21; Freepo
August 27; Jonesboro, September 15; Charleston, Se
tember 18, Galesburg, October 7; Quincy, October 1
and Alton, October 15. "I agree to your suggestio
wrote Douglas, "that we shall alternately open and cl
the discussion. I will speak at Ottawa one hour, you
reply, occupying an hour and a half, and I will then foll
for half an hour. At Freeport you shall open the d
cussion and speak one hour, I will follow for an h
and a half, and you can then reply for half an hour.
will alternate in like manner in each successive pla
To this arrangement Lincoln on the 31st gave his cons
"although," he wrote, "by the terms as you propose
take four openings and closes to my three."

Among the items of preparation on Lincoln's part h
erto withheld is the following letter, which explains its

"SPRINGFIELD, June 28, 185

"A. CAMPBELL, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR:—In 1856 you gave me authority to d
on you for any sum not exceeding five hundred dollars
see clearly that such a privilege would be more available
than it was then. I am aware that times are tighter now

ey were then. Please write me at all events, and whether u can now do anything or not I shall continue grateful for e past.

"Yours very truly,
"A. LINCOLN."

The following letter from Mr. Campbell is not without terest:

"LA SALLE, ILL., Dec. 12th, 1888.

ESSE W. WEIK, ESQ.

"MY DEAR SIR:—I gave Mr. Lincoln some money in the ice of Lincoln & Herndon in Springfield in 1856, but I do t remember the exact amount. It was, however, between o and three hundred dollars. I never had Mr. Lincoln's ligation for the payment of any money. I never kept any count of nor charged my memory with any money I gave m. It was given to defray his personal expenses and other- se promote the interest of a cause which I sincerely be- ved to be for the public good, and without the thought or pectation of a dollar of it ever being returned. From what knew and learned of his careful habits in money matters in e campaign of 1856 I am entirely confident that every dollar d dime I ever gave was carefully and faithfully applied to e uses and purposes for which it was given.

"Sincerely yours,
"A. CAMPBELL."*

History furnishes few characters whose lives and careers ere so nearly parallel as those of Lincoln and Douglas. ney met for the first time at the Legislature in Vandalia 1834, where Lincoln was a member of the House of epresentatives and Douglas was in the lobby. The next ar Douglas was also a member. In 1839 both were ad- tted to practice in the Supreme Court of Illinois on the ne day. In 1841 both courted the same young lady. In 46 both represented Illinois in Congress at Washington, e one in the upper and the other in the lower House. In 58 they were opposing candidates for United States

* Herndon used these two letters as a footnote in the original tion.

Senator; and finally, to complete the remarkable counter part, both were candidates for the Presidency in 1860 While it is true that their ambitions ran in parallel lines yet they were exceedingly unlike in all other particulars Douglas was short,—something over five feet high,—heavy set, with a large head, broad shoulders, deep chest, and striking features. He was polite and affable, but fearless He had that unique trait, magnetism, fully developed in his nature, and that attracted a host of friends and readily made him a popular idol. He had had extensive experience in debate, and had been trained by contact for years with the great minds and orators of Congress. He was full of political history, well informed on general topics, eloquent almost to the point of brilliancy, self-confident to the point of arrogance, and a dangerous competitor in every respect What he lacked in ingenuity he made up in strategy, and if in debate he could not tear down the structure of his opponent's argument by a direct and violent attack, he was by no means reluctant to resort to a strained restatement of the latter's position or to the extravagance of ridicule Lincoln knew his man thoroughly and well. He had often met Douglas on the stump; was familiar with his tactics and though fully aware of his "want of fixed political morals," was not averse to measuring swords with the elastic and flexible "Little Giant."

An erroneous impression has grown up in recent years concerning Douglas's ability and standing as a lawyer One of the latest biographies of Lincoln credits him with many of the artifices of the "shyster." This is not only unfair, but decidedly untrue. I always found Douglas at the bar to be a broad, fair, and liberal-minded man. Although not a thorough student of the law his large fund of good commonsense kept him in the front rank. He was equally generous and courteous, and he never stooped to gain a case. I know that Lincoln entertained the same view of him. It was only in politics that Douglas demonstrated any want of inflexibility and rectitude, and then only did Lincoln manifest a lack of faith in his morals.[7]

[7] Original footnote.

Lincoln himself was constructed on an entirely different ·undation. His base was plain commonsense, direct state- ·ent, and the inflexibility of logic. In physical make-up was cold—at least not magnetic—and made no effort to ·zzle people by his bearing. He cared nothing for a fol- wing, and though he had often before struggled for a ·litical prize, yet in his efforts he never had strained his ·ll-known spirit of fairness or open love of the truth. e analyzed everything, laid every statement bare, and by nt of his broad reasoning powers and manliness of ad- ·ssion inspired his hearers with deep conviction of his rnestness and honesty. Douglas may have electrified the owds with his eloquence or charmed them with his ajestic bearing and dexterity in debate, but as each man, ter the meetings were over and the applause had died vay, went to his home, his head rang with Lincoln's gic and appeal to manhood.

A brief description of Mr. Lincoln's appearance on the ump and of his manner when speaking may not be with- t interest. When standing erect he was six feet four ches high. He was lean in flesh and ungainly in figure. side from the sad, pained look due to habitual melancholy, s face had no characteristic or fixed expression. He was in through the chest, and hence slightly stoop-shouldered. hen he arose to address courts, juries, or crowds of peo- e, his body inclined forward to a slight degree. At first he as very awkward, and it seemed a real labor to adjust nself to his surroundings. He struggled for a time under feeling of apparent diffidence and sensitiveness, and these ly added to his awkwardness. I have often seen and sym- thized with Mr. Lincoln during these moments. When he gan speaking, his voice was shrill, piping, and unpleasant. s manner, his attitude, his dark, yellow face, wrinkled d dry, his oddity of pose, his diffident movements— erything seemed to be against him, but only for a short ne. After having arisen, he generally placed his hands hind him, the back of his left hand in the palm of his ht, the thumb and fingers of his right hand clasped ound the left arm at the wrist. For a few moments he

displayed the combination of awkwardness, sensitiveness and diffidence. As he proceeded he became somewhat animated, and to keep in harmony with his growing warmth his hands relaxed their grasp and fell to his side. Presently he clasped them in front of him, interlocking his fingers one thumb meanwhile chasing another. His speech now requiring more emphatic utterance, his fingers unlocked and his hands fell apart. His left arm was thrown behind the back of his hand resting against his body, his right hand seeking his side. By this time he had gained sufficient composure, and his real speech began. He did not gesticulate as much with his hands as with his head. He used the latter frequently, throwing it with vim this way and that. This movement was a significant one when he sought to enforce his statement. It sometimes came with a quick jerk, as if throwing off electric sparks into combustible material. He never sawed the air nor rent space into tatters and rags as some orators do. He never acted for stage effect. He was cool, considerate, reflective—at time self-possessed and self-reliant. His style was clear, terse, and compact. In argument he was logical, demonstrative, and fair. He was careless of his dress, and his clothes, instead of fitting neatly as did the garments of Douglas on the latter's well-rounded form, hung loosely on his giant frame. As he moved along in his speech he became freer and less uneasy in his movements; to that extent he was graceful. He had a perfect naturalness, strong individuality; and to that extent he was dignified. He despised glitter, show, set forms, and shams. He spoke with effectiveness and to move the judgment as well as the emotions of men. There was a world of meaning and emphasis in the long, bony finger of his right hand as he dotted the ideas on the minds of his hearers. Sometimes, to express joy or pleasure, he would raise both hands at an angle of about fifty degrees, the palms upward, as if desirous of embracing the spirit of that which he loved. If the sentiment was one of detestation—denunciation of slavery, for example—both arms, thrown upward and fists clenched, swept through the air, and he expressed an ex-

tion that was truly sublime. This was one of his most ective gestures, and signified most vividly a fixed deter- nation to drag down the object of his hatred and trample in the dust. He always stood squarely on his feet, toe en with toe; that is, he never put one foot before the ner. He neither touched nor leaned on anything for pport. He made but few changes in his positions and tudes. He never ranted, never walked backward and ward on the platform. To ease his arms he frequently ught hold, with his left hand, of the lapel of his coat, ping his thumb upright and leaving his right hand free gesticulate. The designer of the monument recently cted in Chicago has happily caught him in just this itude. As he proceeded with his speech the exercise of vocal organs altered somewhat the tone of his voice. lost in a measure its former acute and shrilling pitch, l mellowed into a more harmonious and pleasant sound. s form expanded, and, notwithstanding the sunken ast, he rose up a splendid and imposing figure. In his ense of the Declaration of Independence—his greatest piration—he was "tremendous in the directness of his erances; he rose to impassioned eloquence, unsurpassed Patrick Henry, Mirabeau, or Vergniaud, as his soul was pired with the thought of human right and Divine jus- e."[8] His little gray eyes flashed in a face aglow with fire of his profound thoughts; and his uneasy move- nts and diffident manner sunk themselves beneath the ve of righteous indignation that came sweeping over n. Such was Lincoln the orator.

We can somewhat appreciate the feeling with which uglas, aggressive and fearless though he was, welcomed ontest with such a man as Lincoln. Four years before, a joint debate with him, he had asked for a cessation forensic hostilities, conceding that his opponent of rail- tting fame had given him "more trouble than all the ited States Senate together." Now he was brought face face with him again.

t is unnecessary and not in keeping with the purpose

[8] Horace White to Herndon, June 9, 1865.

of this work to reproduce here the speeches made by either Lincoln or Douglas in their justly renowned debate. Briefly stated, Lincoln's position was announced in his opening speech at Springfield: "'A house divided against itself cannot stand.' I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the Union to be dissolved, I do not expect the house to fall—but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all the one thing or the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction; or its advocates will push it forward till it becomes alike lawful in all the states old as well as new, North as well as South." The position of Douglas on the question of slavery was one of indifference. He advocated with all his power the doctrine of "Popular Sovereignty," a proposition, as quaintly put by Lincoln, which meant that, "if one man chooses to enslave another, no third man has a right to object." At the last joint discussion in Alton, Lincoln, after reflecting on the patriotism of any man who was so indifferent to the wrong of slavery that he cared not whether it was voted up or down, closed his speech with this stirring summary: "That [slavery] is the real issue. That is the issue that will continue in this country when these poor tongues of Judge Douglas and myself shall be silent. It is the eternal struggle between these two principles—right and wrong—throughout the world. They are the two principles that have stood face to face from the beginning of time, and will ever continue to struggle. The one is the common right of humanity, and the other the divine right of kings. It is the same principle, in whatever shape it develops itself. It is the same spirit that says: 'You work and toil and earn bread, and I eat it.' No matter in what shape it comes, whether from the mouth of a king who seeks to bestride the people of his own nation and live by the fruit of their labor, or from one race of men as an apology for enslaving another race, it is the same tyrannical principle."

It is unnecessary, I presume, to insert here the seven estions which Douglas propounded to Lincoln at their st meeting at Ottawa, nor the historic four which Lin- ln asked at Freeport. It only remains to say that in swering Lincoln at Freeport, Douglas accomplished his vn political downfall. He was swept entirely away from s former foundation, and even the glory of a subsequent ction to the Senate never restored him to it.

[It is generally conceded that Lincoln's second Freeport estion cost Douglas the support of the South in 1860. Can the people of the United States Territory," Lincoln ked, "in any lawful way, against the wish of any citizen the United States, exclude slavery from its limits prior the formation of a State constitution?"

Douglas replied in the following words: "I answer em- atically, as Mr. Lincoln has heard me answer a hundred nes from every stump in Illinois, that in my opinion the ople of a Territory can, by lawful means, exclude slavery om their limits prior to the formation of a State con- tution. Mr. Lincoln knew that I had answered that estion over and over again. He heard me argue the ebraska bill on that principle all over the State in 1854, 1855, and in 1856, and he has no excuse for pretending be in doubt as to my position on that question. It atters not what way the Supreme Court may hereafter cide as to the abstract question whether slavery may or ay not go into a Territory under the Constitution, the ople have the lawful means to introduce it or exclude it they please, for the reason that slavery cannot exist a y or an hour anywhere, unless it is supported by local lice regulations. Those police regulations can only be tablished by the local legislature; and if the people are posed to slavery, they will elect representatives to that dy who will by unfriendly legislation effectually prevent e introduction of it into their midst. If, on the contrary, ey are for it, their legislation will favor its extension. ence, no matter what the decision of the Supreme Court y be on that abstract question, still the right of the ople to make a Slave Territory or a Free Territory is

perfect and complete under the Nebraska bill. I hope Mr Lincoln deems my answer satisfactory on that point."]

During the canvass Mr. Lincoln, in addition to the seven meetings with Douglas, filled thirty-one appointments made by the State Central Committee, besides speaking at many other times and places not previously advertised. In his trips to and fro over the State, between meetings, he would stop at Springfield sometimes, to consult with his friends or to post himself up on questions that occurred during the canvass. He kept me busy hunting up old speeches and gathering facts and statistics at the State library. I made liberal clippings bearing in any way on the questions of the hour from every newspaper I happened to see, and kept him supplied with them; and on one or two occasions, in answer to letters and telegrams, I sent books forward to him. He had a little leather bound book, fastened in front with a clasp, in which he and I both kept inserting newspaper slips and newspaper comments until the canvass opened. In arranging for the joint meetings and managing the crowds Douglas enjoyed one great advantage. He had been United States Senator for several years, and had influential friends holding comfortable government offices all over the State. These men were on hand at every meeting, losing no opportunity to applaud lustily all the points Douglas made and to lionize him in every conceivable way. The ingeniously contrived display of their enthusiasm had a marked effect on certain crowds—a fact of which Lincoln frequently complained to his friends. One who accompanied him during the canvass (Henry C. Whitney) relates this: "Lincoln and I were at the Centralia agricultural fair the day after the debate at Jonesboro. Night came on and we were tired, having been on the fair grounds all day. We were to go north on the Illinois Central railroad. The train was due at midnight, and the depot was full of people. I managed to get a chair for Lincoln in the office of the superintendent of the railroad, but small politicians would intrude so that he could scarcely get a moment's sleep. The train came and was filled instantly. I got a seat near the door

Lincoln and myself. He was worn out, and had to
t Douglas the next day at Charleston. An empty car,
ed a saloon car, was hitched on to the rear of the train
locked up. I asked the conductor, who knew Lincoln
myself well,—we were both attorneys of the road,—
incoln could not ride in that car; that he was exhausted
needed rest; but the conductor refused. I afterwards
him in by a stratagem. At the same time George B.
Clellan in person was taking Douglas around in a spe-
car and special train; and that was the unjust treat-
t Lincoln got from the Illinois Central railroad. Ev-
interest of that road and every employee was against
coln and for Douglas."

he heat and dust and bonfires of the campaign at last
e to an end. The election took place on the second
November, and while Lincoln received of the popular
a majority of over four thousand, yet the returns
n the legislative districts foreshadowed his defeat. In
, when the Senatorial election took place in the Legisla-
, Douglas received fifty-four and Lincoln forty-six
s—one of the results of the lamentable apportion-
t law then in operation.

Horace Greeley was one of the most vigilant men dur-
the debate. He wrote to Lincoln and me many letters
ch I still retain. In a letter to me during the campaign,
ober 6, he says with reference to Douglas: "In his pres-
position I could not of course support him, but he need
have been in this position had the Republicans of
ois been as wise and far-seeing as they are earnest
true . . . but seeing things are as they are, I do not
to be quoted as authority for making trouble and
sion among our friends." Soon after hearing of the
lt of the November election he again writes: "I ad-
you privately that Mr. Douglas would be the strong-
candidate that the Democratic party could present for
sident; but they will not present him. The old leaders
ldn't endorse it. As he is doomed to be slaughtered
Charleston it is good policy to fatten him meantime.
will cut up the better at killing time." An inquiry for

his preference as to presidential timber elicited this r
sponse, December 4th. "As to President, my present jud
ment is Edward Bates, with John M. Read for Vice; b
I am willing to go anything that looks strong. I don't wi
to load the team heavier than it will pull through. As
Douglas, he is like the man's boy who (he said) 'didn
weigh so much as he expected, and he always knew
wouldn't.' I never thought him very sound coin; but
didn't think it best to beat him on the back of his an
Lecompton fight, and I am still of that opinion." [9]

The letters of Lincoln at this period are the best ev
dence of his feelings now obtainable, and of how he a
cepted his defeat. To Henry Asbury, a friend who h
written him a cheerful letter admonishing him not to gi
up the battle, he responded:

"SPRINGFIELD, November 19, 1858.

"MR. HENRY ASBURY,

"MY DEAR SIR:—Yours of the 13th was received some da
ago. The fight must go on. The cause of civil liberty mu
not be surrendered at the end of one or even one hundred d
feats. Douglas had the ingenuity to be supported in the la
contest both as the best means to break down and to upho
the slave interest. No ingenuity can keep these antagonis
elements in harmony long. Another explosion will soon co

"Yours truly,

"A. LINCOLN."

To another friend (A. G. Henry) on the same day
writes: "I am glad I made the late race. It gave me a hea
ing on the great and durable questions of the age which
could have had in no other way; and though I now sink o
of view and shall be forgotten, I believe I have made so
marks which will tell for the cause of liberty long after
am gone."

Before passing to later events in Mr. Lincoln's life
is proper to include in this chapter, as a specimen of
oratory at this time, his eloquent reference to the Decla
tion of Independence found in a speech delivered at Bear

[9] Original footnote.

n, August 12, and not at Lewiston five days later, as y biographers have it. Aside from its concise reason- the sublime thought it suggests entitles it to rank be- that great masterpiece, his Gettysburg address. After ling to the suppression by the Fathers of the Repub- f the slave trade, he says: "These by their represen- es in old Independence Hall said to the whole race of : 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, ty, and the pursuit of happiness.' This was their stic interpretation of the economy of the universe. was their lofty, and wise, and noble understanding he justice of the Creator to his creatures—yes, gentle- , to all his creatures, to the whole great family of men. heir enlightened belief, nothing stamped with the di- image and likeness was sent into the world to be den on and degraded and imbruted by its fellows. They ped not only the whole race of man then living, but reached forward and seized upon the farthest pos- y. They erected a beacon to guide their children, their children's children, and the countless myriads who ld inhabit the earth in other ages. Wise statesmen hey were, they knew the tendency of prosperity to d tyrants, and so they established these great self- ent truths, that when in the distant future some man, e faction, some interest, should set up the doctrine none but rich men, none but white men, or none but lo-Saxon white men were entitled to life, liberty, and pursuit of happiness, their posterity might look up n to the Declaration of Independence and take cour- to renew the battle which their fathers began, so that n and justice and mercy and all the humane and Chris- virtues might not be extinguished from the land; so no man would hereafter dare to limit and circumscribe great principles on which the temple of liberty was be- built.

Now, my countrymen, if you have been taught doc- s conflicting with the great landmarks of the Declara-

tion of Independence; if you have listened to suggestio
which would take away from its grandeur and mutila
the fair symmetry of its proportions; if you have been i
clined to believe that all men are not created equal in tho
inalienable rights enumerated by our chart of liberty:
me entreat you to come back. Return to the founta
whose waters spring close by the blood of the Revolutic
Think nothing of me; take no thought for the politic
fate of any man whomsoever, but come back to the trut
that are in the Declaration of Independence. You may
anything with me you choose, if you will but heed the
sacred principles. You may not only defeat me for t
Senate, but you may take me and put me to death. Wh
pretending no indifference to earthly honors, I do cla
to be actuated in this contest by something higher than
anxiety for office. I charge you to drop every paltry a
insignificant thought for any man's success. It is nothin
I am nothing; Judge Douglas is nothing. But do n
destroy that immortal emblem of humanity—the Declar
tion of American Independence."

One of the newspaper men (Horace White) who hea
this majestic oration wrote me as follows: "The apostrop
to the Declaration of Independence to which you refer w
written by myself from a vivid recollection of Mr. Lincol
speech at Beardstown, August 12, 1858. On the day f
lowing the delivery of the speech, as Mr. Lincoln and
were proceeding by steamer from Beardstown to Hava
I said to him that I had been greatly impressed by
concluding remarks of the day previous, and that if
would write them out for me I felt confident their pub
cation would be highly beneficial to our cause as well
honorable to his own fame. He replied that he had bu
faint recollection of any portion of the speech; that, l
all his campaign speeches, it was necessarily extempo
neous; and that its good or bad effect depended upon
inspiration of the moment. He added that I had proba
over-estimated the value of the remarks referred to.
reply to my question whether he had any objection to
writing them out from memory and putting them in

n of a verbatim report, he said, 'None at all.' I ac-
lingly did so. I felt confident then and I feel equally
ıred now that I transcribed the peroration with abso-
fidelity as to ideas and commendable fidelity as to lan-
ge. I certainly aimed to reproduce his exact words,
my recollection of the passage as spoken was very
r. After I had finished writing I read it to Mr. Lin-
. When I had finished the reading he said, 'Well,
e are my views, and if I said anything on the subject
ust have said substantially that, but not nearly so well
hat is said.' I remember this remark quite distinctly,
if the old steamer *Editor* is still in existence I could
w the place where we were sitting. Having secured
assent to the publication I forwarded it to our paper,
inasmuch as my report of the Beardstown meeting had
ı already mailed I incorporated the remarks on the
laration of Independence in my letter from Lewiston
or three days subsequently. . . . I do not remember
having related these facts before, although they have
n recurred to me as I have seen the peroration resus-
ted again and again, and published (with good effect,
ust) in the newspapers of this country and England."

CHAPTER FOURTEE

BEFORE MR. LINCOLN SURRENDERS HIMSELF COMPLETE
to the public—for it is apparent he is fast approaching
great crisis of his career—it may not be entirely inapp
priate to take a nearer and more personal view of him.
knowledge of his personal views and actions, a glim
through the doorway of his home, and a more thorou
acquaintance with his marked and strong points as t
developed, will aid us greatly in forming our general e
mate of the man. When Mr. Lincoln entered the dom
of investigation he was a severe and persistent thinker,
had wonderful endurance; hence he was abstracted,
for that reason at times was somewhat unsocial, retic
and uncommunicative. After his marriage it cannot be s
that he liked the society of ladies; in fact, it was just w
he did not like, though one of his biographers says oth
wise. Lincoln had none of the tender ways that pleas
woman, and he could not, it seemed, by any positive
of his own make her happy. If his wife was happy, she
naturally happy, or made herself so in spite of count
drawbacks. He was, however, a good husband in his
peculiar way, and in his own way only.

If exhausted from severe and long-continued thou
he had to touch the earth again to renew his strength. W
this weariness set in he would stop thought, and get d
and play with a little dog or kitten to recover; and w
the recovery came he would push it aside to play with
own tail. He treated men and women in much the s
way. For fashionable society he had a marked dis
although he appreciated its value in promoting the wel

man ambitious to succeed in politics. If he was ed out to dine or to mingle in some social gathering, came in contact with the ladies, he treated them with ming politeness; but the consciousness of his short- ngs as a society man rendered him unusually diffident, at the very first opportunity he would have the men rated from their ladies and crowded close around him ne corner of the parlor, listening to one of his charac- tic stories. That a lady[1] as proud and as ambitious to cise the rights of supremacy in society as Mary Todd ld repent of her marriage to the man I have just de- ed surely need occasion no surprise in the mind of ne. Both she and the man whose hand she accepted l along the lines of human conduct, and both reaped bitter harvest of conjugal infelicity. In dealing with Lincoln's home life perhaps I am revealing an ele- of his character that has heretofore been kept from world; but in doing so I feel sure I am treading on erson's toes, for all the actors in this domestic drama dead, and the world seems ready to hear the facts. is married life, in the opinion of all his friends, ex- l a peculiar influence over Mr. Lincoln's political career e can be no impropriety, I apprehend, in throwing the on it now. Mrs. Lincoln's disposition and nature been dwelt upon in another chapter, and enough has told to show that one of her greatest misfortunes was nability to control her temper. Admit that, and every- g can be explained. Howevei cold and abstracted her and may have appeared to others, however impressive, n aroused, may have seemed his indignation in public, ever gave vent to his feelings at home. He always dly accepted as final the authority of his wife in all

[1] "Mrs. Lincoln," said Herndon, "was decidedly pro-slavery r views. One day she was invited to take a ride with a boring family, some of whose members still reside in Spring- 'If ever my husband dies,' she ejaculated during the ride, spirit will never find me living outside the limits of a slave ' "

matters of domestic concern.[2] This may explain somewh
the statement of Judge Davis that, "as a general rule, wh
all the lawyers of a Saturday evening would go home a
see their families and friends, Lincoln would find so
excuse and refuse to go. We said nothing, but it seem
to us all he was not domestically happy."[3] He exercis
no government of any kind over his household. H
children did much as they pleased. Many of their ant
he approved, and he restrained them in nothing. He nev
reproved them or gave them a fatherly frown. He was t
most indulgent parent I have ever known. He was in t
habit, when at home on Sunday, of bringing his two bo
Willie and Thomas—or "Tad"—down to the office to
main while his wife attended church. He seldom accom
nied her there. The boys were absolutely unrestrained
their amusement. If they pulled down all the books fr
the shelves, bent the points of all the pens, overturned i
stands, scattered law-papers over the floor, or threw
pencils into the spittoon, it never disturbed the serenity
their father's good-nature. Frequently absorbed in thoug
he never observed their mischievous but destructive pra
—as his unfortunate partner did, who thought much,
said nothing—and, even if brought to his attention, he
tually encouraged their repetition by declining to show
substantial evidence of parental disapproval. After chu
was over the boys and their father, climbing down
office stairs, ruefully turned their steps homeward. T
mingled with the throngs of well-dressed people return
from church, the majority of whom might well have w
dered if the trio they passed were going to a fireside wh

[2] In a footnote to the original edition Herdon wrote in
lustration of this remark: "One day a man making some
provements in Lincoln's yard suggested to Mrs. Lincoln
propriety of cutting down one of the trees, to which she willi
assented. Before doing so, however, the man came down
our office and consulted Lincoln himself about it. 'What
Mrs. Lincoln say?' inquired the latter. 'She consented to hav
taken away.' 'Then, in God's name,' exclaimed Lincoln, 'cu
down to the roots!'"

[3] See p. 249 n.

e and white-winged peace reigned supreme. A near tive of Mrs. Lincoln, in explanation of the unhappy dition of things in that lady's household, offered this gestion:

Mrs. Lincoln came of the best stock, and was raised a lady. Her husband was her opposite, in origin, in cation, in breeding, in everything; and it is therefore e natural that she should complain if he answered the r-bell himself instead of sending the servant to do so; her is she to be condemned if, as you say, she raised rry war' because he persisted in using his own knife in butter, instead of the silver-handled one intended for purpose." Such want of social polish on the part of husband of course gave Mrs. Lincoln great offense, and efore in commenting on it she cared neither for time place. Her frequent outbursts of temper precipitated ıy an embarrassment from which Lincoln with great culty extricated himself.

lady relative who lived for two years with the Lin- ıs told me that Mr. Lincoln was in the habit of lying he floor with the back of a chair for a pillow when he l. One evening, when in this position in the hall, a ck was heard at the front door and although in his t-sleeves he answered the call. Two ladies were at the r whom he invited into the parlor, notifying them in pen familiar way, that he would "trot the women folks " Mrs. Lincoln from an adjoining room witnessed the es' entrance and overheard her husband's jocose expres- . Her indignation was so instantaneous she made the ation exceedingly interesting for him, and he was glad etreat from the mansion. He did not return till very at night and then slipped quietly in at a rear door.[4]

Irs. Lincoln, on account of her peculiar nature, could long retain a servant in her employ. The sea was er so placid but that a breeze would ruffle its waters. loved show and attention, and if, when she glorified family descent or indulged in one of her strange out- ks, the servant could simulate absolute obsequiousness

[4] Original footnote.

or had tact enough to encourage her social pretensio
Mrs. Lincoln was for the time her firmest friend. O
servant, who adjusted herself to suit the lady's capricio
ways, lived with the family for several years. She t
me that at the time of the debate between Douglas a
Lincoln she often heard the latter's wife boast that s
would yet be mistress of the White House. The sec
of her ability to endure the eccentricities of her mistr
came out in the admission that Mr. Lincoln gave her
extra dollar each week on condition that she would bra
whatever storms might arise, and suffer whatever mig
befall her, without complaint. It was a rather severe c
dition, but she lived rigidly up to her part of the contra
The money was paid secretly and without the knowled
of Mrs. Lincoln. Frequently, after tempestuous scen
between the mistress and her servant, Lincoln at the fi
opportunity would place his hand encouragingly on
latter's shoulder with the admonition, "Mary, keep up yo
courage." It may not be without interest to add that
servant afterwards married a man who enlisted in
army. In the spring of 1865 his wife managed to rea
Washington to secure her husband's release from
service. After some effort she succeeded in obtaining
interview with the President. He was glad to see her, ga
her a basket of fruit, and directed her to call the next
and obtain a pass through the lines and money to b
clothes for herself and children. That night he w
assassinated.

The following letter to the editor of a newspaper
Springfield will serve as a specimen of the perplexi
which frequently beset Mr. Lincoln when his wife ca
in contact with others. What in this instance she said
the paper carrier we do not know; we can only intelligen
infer. I have no personal recollection of the incid
although I knew the man to whom it was addressed q
well. The letter only recently came to light. I inser
without further comment.

vate.]

"Springfield, Ill., February 20, 1857.

in E. Rosette, Esq.

Dear Sir:—Your note about the little paragraph in the ıblican was received yesterday, since which time I have too unwell to notice it. I had not supposed you wrote or oved it. The whole originated in mistake. You know by conversation with me that I thought the establishment of paper unfortunate, but I always expected to throw no obe in its way, and to patronize it to the extent of taking paying for one copy. When the paper was brought to house, my wife said to me, 'Now are you going to take her worthless little paper?' I said to her *evasively*, 'I not directed the paper to be left.' From this, in my abe, she sent the message to the carrier. This is the whole r.

"Yours truly,

"A. Lincoln."

man once called at the house to learn why Mrs. Lin- had so unceremoniously discharged his niece from employ. Mrs. Lincoln met him at the door, and being ewhat wrought up, gave vent to her feelings, resorting uch violent gestures and emphatic language that the was glad to beat a hasty retreat. He at once started to find Lincoln, determined to exact from him proper faction for his wife's action. Lincoln was entertaining owd in a store at the time. The man, still laboring er some agitation, called him to the door and made the and. Lincoln listened for a moment to his story. "My nd," he interrupted, "I regret to hear this, but let me you in all candor, can't you endure for a few mots what I have had as my daily portion for the last en years?" These words were spoken so mournfully with such a look of distress that the man was comly disarmed. It was a case that appealed to his feel-

Grasping the unfortunate husband's hand, he exsed in no uncertain terms his sympathy, and even ogized for having approached him. He said no more

about the infuriated wife, and Lincoln afterward had
better friend in Springfield.

Mr. Lincoln never had a confidant, and therefore nev
unbosomed himself to others. He never spoke of his tri
to me or, so far as I knew, to any of his friends. It w
a great burden to carry, but he bore it sadly enough a
without a murmur. I could always realize when he w
in distress, without being told. He was not exactly
early riser, that is, he never usually appeared at the off
till about nine o'clock in the morning. I usually preced
him an hour. Sometimes, however, he would come do
as early as seven o'clock—in fact, on one occasion I
member he came down before daylight. If, on arrivi
at the office, I found him in, I knew instantly that a bre
had sprung up over the domestic sea, and that the wat
were troubled. He would either be lying on the lou
looking skyward, or doubled up in a chair with his f
resting on the sill of a back window. He would not lo
up on my entering, and only answered my "Good mornin
with a grunt. I at once busied myself with pen and pap
or ran through the leaves of some book; but the evide
of his melancholy and distress was so plain, and his sile
so significant, that I would grow restless myself, a
finding some excuse to go to the courthouse or elsewhe
would leave the room.

The door of the office opening into a narrow hallw
was half glass, with a curtain on it working on brass ri
strung on wire. As I passed out on these occasions
would draw the curtain across the glass, and before
reached the bottom of the stairs I could hear the key t
in the lock, and Lincoln was alone in his gloom. An h
in the clerk's office at the courthouse, an hour longer
a neighboring store having passed, I would return.
that time either a client had dropped in and Lincoln
propounding the law, or else the cloud of despondency
passed away, and he was busy in the recital of an Indi
story to whistle off the recollections of the mornin
gloom. Noon having arrived I would depart homew
for my dinner. Returning within an hour, I would

still in the office, although his house stood but a few
res away,—lunching on a slice of cheese and a handful
rackers which, in my absence, he had brought up from
re below. Separating for the day at five or six o'clock
ne evening, I would still leave him behind, either sit-
on a box at the foot of the stairway, entertaining a few
gers, or killing time in the same way on the court-
e steps. A light in the office after dark attested his
ence there till late along in the night, when, after all
world had gone to sleep, the tall form of the man
ned to be the nation's President could have been seen
ling along in the shadows of trees and buildings, and
tly slipping in through the door of a modest frame
e, which it pleased the world, in a conventional way,
ll his home.

me persons may insist that this picture is too highly
red. If so, I can only answer, they do not know the
s. The majority of those who have a personal knowl-
of them are persistent in their silence. If their lips
d be opened and all could be known, my conclusions
statements, to say the least of them, would be found to
air, reasonable, and true. A few words more as to
oln's domestic history, and I pass to a different phase
is life. One of his warmest and closest friends, who
survives, maintains the theory that, after all, Lincoln's
ical ascendency and final elevation to the Presidency
due more to the influence of his wife than to any
r person or cause. "The fact," insists this friend,
t Mary Todd, by her turbulent nature and unfortunate
ner, prevented her husband from becoming a domestic
operated largely in his favor; for he was thereby
out in the world of business and politics. Instead of
ding his evenings at home, reading the papers and
ning his toes at his own fireside, he was constantly out
the common people, was mingling with the poli-
ns, discussing public questions with the farmers
thronged the offices in the courthouse and state house,
exchanging views with the loungers who surrounded
tove of winter evenings in the village store. The re-

sult of this continuous contact with the world was, that
was more thoroughly known than any other man in
community. His wife, therefore, was one of the uni
tentional means of his promotion. If, on the other hand,
had married some less ambitious but more domes
woman, some honest farmer's quiet daughter,—one w
would have looked up to and worshipped him because
uplifted her,—the result might have been different. F
although it doubtless would have been her pride to see th
he had clean clothes whenever he needed them; that
slippers were always in their place; that he was warm
clad and had plenty to eat; and, although the privilege
ministering to his every wish and whim might have be
to her a pleasure rather than a duty; yet I fear he wou
have been buried in the pleasures of a loving home, and t
country would never have had Abraham Lincoln for
President."

In her domestic troubles I have always sympathiz
with Mrs. Lincoln. The world does not know what s
bore, or how ill-adapted she was to bear it. Her fearle
witty, and austere nature shrank instinctively from as
ciation with the calm, imperturbable, and simple ways
her thoughtful and absent-minded husband. Besides, w
knows but she may have acted out in her conduct towa
her husband the laws of human revenge? The pictu
of that eventful evening in 1841, when she stood at
Edwards mansion clad in her bridal robes, the feast p
pared and the guests gathered, and when the bridegro
came not, may have been constantly before her, a
prompted her to a course of action which kept in the ba
ground the better elements of her nature. In marry
Lincoln she did not look so far into the future as M
Owens, who declined his proposal because "he was d
cient in those little links which make up the chain
woman's happiness." [5]

Mrs. Lincoln died at the residence of her sister M
Ninian W. Edwards, in Springfield, July 16, 1882.
Thomas W. Dresser, her physician during her last illn

[5] See Editor's Preface, p. xliv.

this of her: "In the late years of her life certain
tal peculiarities were developed which finally cul-
ted in a slight apoplexy, producing paralysis, of which
died. Among the peculiarities alluded to, one of the
singular was the habit she had during the last year
o of her life of immuring herself in a perfectly dark
n and, for light, using a small candle-light, even when
un was shining bright out-of-doors. No urging would
ce her to go out into the fresh air. Another peculi-
was the accumulation of large quantities of silks and
s goods in trunks and by the cart-load, which she never
and which accumulated until it was really feared that
floor of the store-room would give way. She was
nt and sparkling in conversation, and her memory re-
ed singularly good up to the very close of her life.
face was animated and pleasing; and to me she was
ys an interesting woman; and while the whole world
finding fault with her temper and disposition, it was
to me that the trouble was really a cerebral disease." [6]
y reason of his practical turn of mind Mr. Lincoln
r speculated any more in the scientific and philosophi-
han he did in the financial world. He never undertook
thom the intricacies of psychology and metaphysics.
stigation into first causes, abstruse mental phenomena,
science of being, he brushed aside as trash—mere
tific absurdities. He discovered through experience
his mind, like the minds of other men, had its limita-
, and hence he economized his forces and his time by
ing his powers in the field of the practical. Scien-
lly regarded he was a realist as opposed to an idealist,
nsationist as opposed to an intuitionist, a materialist
posed to a spiritualist.

the words of Joseph Gillespie, "He was contemplative
r than speculative. He wanted something solid to rest
, and hence his bias for mathematics and the physical
ces. He bestowed more attention on them than upon
physical speculations. I have heard him descant upon
problem whether a ball discharged from a gun in a

[6] Original footnote.

horizontal position would be longer in reaching the gro than one dropped at the instant of discharge from muzzle. He said it always appeared to him that they wo both reach the ground at the same time, even before he read the philosophical explanation." [7]

There was more or less superstition in his nature, a although he may not have believed implicity in the signs his many dreams, he was constantly endeavoring to unra them. His mind was readily impressed with some of most absurd superstitions. His visit to the Voodoo tune-teller in New Orleans in 1831; his faith in the virt of the mad-stone, when he took his son Robert to T Haute, Indiana, to be cured of the bite of a rabid dog; the strange double image of himself which he told secretary, John Hay, he saw reflected in a mirror just a his election in 1860, strongly attest his inclination to su stition. He held most firmly to the doctrine of fatalism his life. His wife, after his death, told me what I alre knew, that "his only philosophy was, what is to be will and no prayers of ours can reverse the decree." He ways contended that he was doomed to a sad fate, and repeatedly said to me when we were alone in our of "I am sure I shall meet with some terrible end." In p of his strong leaning towards fatalism he once quoted case of Brutus and Caesar, arguing that the former forced by laws and conditions over which he had control to kill the latter, and, vice versa, that the la was specially created to be disposed of by the former. superstitious view of life ran through his being like thin blue vein through the whitest marble, giving the rest from the weariness of continued unvarying color.[8]

In 1856 I purchased in New York a life of Edm Burke. I have forgotten now who the author was, b remember I read it through in a short time. One mor

[7] *Ibid.*

[8] In a footnote in the original edition Herndon said th had heard Lincoln frequently quote the couplet,

"There's a divinity that shapes our ends,
Rough-hew them as we will."

incoln came into the office and, seeing the book in my ands, inquired what I was reading. I told him, at the ame time observing that it was an excellent work and anding the book over to him. Taking it in his hand he rew himself down on the office sofa and hastily ran over s pages, reading a little here and there. At last he closed nd threw it on the table with the exclamation, "No, I've ead enough of it. It's like all the others. Biographies s generally written are not only misleading, but false. he author of this life of Burke makes a wonderful hero ut of his subject. He magnifies his perfections—if he ad any—and suppresses his imperfections. He is so faith-il in his zeal and so lavish in praise of his every act that ne is almost driven to believe that Burke never made a istake or a failure in his life." He lapsed into a brown tudy, but presently broke out again, "Billy, I've wondered hy book-publishers and merchants don't have blank biog-aphies on their shelves, always ready for an emergency; o that, if a man happens to die, his heirs or his friends, they wish to perpetuate his memory, can purchase one lready written, but with blanks. These blanks they can t their pleasure fill up with rosy sentences full of high-ounding praise. In most instances they commemorate a e, and cheat posterity out of the truth. History," he con-luded, "is not history unless it is the truth." This em-hatic avowal of sentiment from Mr. Lincoln not only fixes is estimate of ordinary biography, but is my vindication in dvance if assailed for telling the truth.[9]

For many years I subscribed for and kept on our office ble the *Westminster* and *Edinburgh Review* and a num-er of other English periodicals. Besides them I pur-hased the works of Spencer, Darwin, and the utterances f other English scientists, all of which I devoured with reat relish. I endeavored, but had little success in induc-ng Lincoln to read them. Occasionally he would snatch ne up and peruse it for a little while, but he soon threw it own with the suggestion that it was entirely too heavy for n ordinary mind to digest. A gentleman in Springfield

[9] Original footnote.

gave him a book called, I believe, "Vestiges of Creatio which interested him so much that he read it through. volume was published in Edinburgh, and undertook demonstrate the doctrine of development or evolut The treatise interested him greatly, and he was deeply pressed with the notion of the so-called "universal law evolution; he did not extend greatly his researches, but continued thinking in a single channel seemed to grow a warm advocate of the new doctrine. Beyond what I h stated he made no further investigation into the realm philosophy. "There are no accidents," he said one "in my philosophy. Every effect must have its ca The past is the cause of the present, and the present be the cause of the future. All these are links in the e less chain stretching from the finite to the infinite." F what has been said it would follow logically that he did believe, except in a very restricted sense, in the freed of the will. We often argued the question, I taking opposite view; he changed the expression, calling it freedom of the mind, and insisted that man always a from a motive. I once contended that man was free could act without a motive. He smiled at my philoso and answered that it was impossible, because the mo was born before the man.

The foregoing thoughts are prefatory to the m mooted question of Mr. Lincoln's religious belief. what I have heretofore said on this subject, both in pu lectures and in letters which have frequently found t way into the newspapers, I have been freely and someti bitterly assailed, but I do not intend now to reopen discussion or to answer the many persons who have r up and asked to measure swords with me. I merely pose to state the bare facts, expressing no opinion of own, and allowing each and every one to put his or construction on them.

Inasmuch as he was so often a candidate for public fice Mr. Lincoln said as little about his religious opin as possible, especially if he failed to coincide with orthodox world. In illustration of his religious co

nce heard him say that it was like that of an old man amed Glenn, in Indiana, whom he heard speak at a hurch meeting, and who said: "When I do good I feel ood, when I do bad I feel bad, and that's my religion." n 1834, while still living in New Salem and before he ecame a lawyer, he was surrounded by a class of people xceedingly liberal in matters of religion. Volney's *uins* and *Payne's Age of Reason* passed from hand hand, and furnished food for the evening's discussion the tavern and village store. Lincoln read both these ooks and thus assimilated them into his own being. He repared an extended essay—called by many, a book—in hich he made an argument against Christianity, striving prove that the Bible was not inspired, and therefore ot God's revelation, and that Jesus Christ was not the n of God. The manuscript containing these audacious d comprehensive propositions he intended to have pub-shed or given a wide circulation in some other way. He arried it to the store, where it was read and freely dis-ussed. His friend and employer, Samuel Hill, was among e listeners, and, seriously questioning the propriety of promising young man like Lincoln fathering such un-opular notions, he snatched the manuscript from his ands and thrust it into the stove. The book went up in ames, and Lincoln's political future was secure. But is infidelity and his skeptical views were not diminished. Ie soon removed to Springfield, where he attracted con-derable notice by his rank doctrine. Much of what he en said may properly be credited to the impetuosity and xuberance of youth. One of his closest friends, whose ame is withheld, narrating scenes and reviewing discus-ions that in 1838 took place in the office of the county erk, says: "Sometimes Lincoln bordered on atheism. Ie went far that way, and shocked me. I was then a oung man, and believed what my good mother told me. . . He would come into the clerk's office where I and me young men were writing and staying, and would ring the Bible with him; would read a chapter and argue gainst it. . . . Lincoln was enthusiastic in his infidelity.

As he grew older he grew more discreet; didn't talk mu
before strangers about his religion; but to friends, cl
and bosom ones, he was always open and avowed, f
and honest; to strangers, he held them off from polic
John T. Stuart, who was Lincoln's first partner, substa
tially endorses the above. "He was an avowed and op
infidel," declares Stuart, "and sometimes bordered
atheism; . . . went further against Christian beliefs a
doctrines and principles than any man I ever heard;
shocked me. I don't remember the exact line of his
gument; suppose it was against the inherent defects,
called, of the Bible, and on grounds of reason. Linc
always denied that Jesus was the Christ of God—den
that Jesus was the son of God as understood and ma
tained by the Christian Church." David Davis tells
this: "The idea that Lincoln talked to a stranger ab
his religion or religious views, or made such speeches a
remarks about it as are published, is to me absurd.
knew the man so well; he was the most reticent, secret
man I ever saw or expect to see. He had no faith, in
Christian sense of the term—had faith in laws, princip
causes and effects." Another man (William H. Hanna
testifies as follows: "Mr. Lincoln told me that he wa
kind of immortalist; that he never could bring himself
believe in eternal punishment; that man lived but a li
while here; and that if eternal punishment were ma
doom, he should spend that little life in vigilant and ce
less preparation by never-ending prayer." Another i
mate friend (I. W. Keys) furnishes this: "In my in
course with Mr. Lincoln I learned that he believed i
Creator of all things, who had neither beginning nor e
possessing all power and wisdom, established a principl
obedience to which worlds move and are upheld, and
mal and vegetable life come into existence. A reason
gave for his belief was that in view of the order and
mony of all nature which we behold, it would have b
more miraculous to have come about by chance than to
been created and arranged by some great thinking po
As to the Christian theory that Christ is God or equa

he Creator, he said that it had better be taken for granted; or by the test of reason we might become infidels on that ubject, for evidence of Christ's divinity came to us in a omewhat doubtful shape; but that the system of Chris-ianity was an ingenious one at least, and perhaps was cal-ulated to do good." Jesse W. Fell, to whom Lincoln first onfided the details of his biography, furnishes a more elab-rate account of the latter's religious views than anyone ise. In a statement made September 22, 1870, Fell says: If there were any traits of character that stood out in old relief in the person of Mr. Lincoln they were those f truth and candor. He was utterly incapable of insin-erity or professing views on this or any other subject he id not entertain. Knowing such to be his true character, hat insincerity, much more duplicity, were traits wholly oreign to his nature, many of his old friends were not a ttle surprised at finding in some of the biographies of his great man statements concerning his religious opinions o utterly at variance with his known sentiments. True, e may have changed or modified these sentiments[10] after is removal from among us, though this is hardly recon-ilable with the history of the man, and his entire devotion o public matters during his four years' residence at the ational capital. It is possible, however, that this may be he proper solution of this conflict of opinions; or it may e that, with no intention on the part of any one to mis-ead the public mind, those who have represented him as elieving in the popular theological views of the times may

[10] In the original edition Herndon printed the following letter s a footnote:

"Executive Mansion, Washington, May 27, 1865.

Friend Herndon:

"Mr. Lincoln did not to my knowledge in any way change his eligious ideas, opinions, or beliefs from the time he left Spring-eld to the day of his death. I do not know just what they ere, never having heard him explain them in detail; but I m very sure he gave no outward indication of his mind having ndergone any change in that regard while here.

"Yours truly,

"Jno. G. Nicolay."

have misapprehended him, as experience shows to
quite common where no special effort has been made
attain critical accuracy on a subject of this nature. T
is the more probable from the well-known fact, that M
Lincoln seldom communicated to any one his views on t
subject; but be this as it may, I have no hesitation wh
ever in saying that whilst he held many opinions in co
mon with the great mass of Christian believers, he
not believe in what are regarded as the orthodox or eva
gelical views of Christianity.

"On the innate depravity of man, the character and
fice of the great Head of the Church, the atonement,
infallibility of the written revelation, the performance
miracles, the nature and design of present and future
wards and punishments (as they are popularly calle
and many other subjects he held opinions utterly at
riance with what are usually taught in the Church.
should say that his expressed views on these and kind
topics were such as, in the estimation of most believe
would place him outside the Christian pale. Yet, to
mind, such was not the true position, since his princip
and practices and the spirit of his whole life were of
very kind we universally agree to call Christian; and
think this conclusion is in no wise affected by the circu
stance that he never attached himself to any religi
society whatever.

"His religious views were eminently practical, and
summed up, as I think, in these two propositions:
Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man.
fully believed in a superintending and overruling Pro
dence that guides and controls the operations of the wo
but maintained that law and order, and not their violat
or suspension, are the appointed means by which
Providence is exercised."[11]

[11] "A convention of preachers held, I think, at Philadelph
wrote John D. Defrees in a letter to Herndon, December 4,
"passed a resolution asking him to recommend to Congress
amendment to the Constitution directly recognizing the existenc
God. The first draft of his message prepared after this resolu

"I will not attempt any specification of either his belief r disbelief on various religious topics, as derived from he conversations with him at different times during a con- iderable period; but as conveying a general view of his eligious or theological opinions, will state the following acts. Some eight or ten years prior to his death, in con- ersing with him upon this subject, the writer took oc- asion to refer, in terms of approbation, to the sermons nd writings generally of Dr. W. E. Channing; and, find- ıg he was considerably interested in the statement I made f the opinions held by that author, I proposed to pre- ent him (Lincoln) a copy of Channing's entire works, vhich I soon after did. Subsequently the contents of hese volumes, together with the writings of Theodore 'arker, furnished him, as he informed me, by his friend nd law partner, William H. Herndon, became naturally he topics of conversation with us; and, though far from elieving there was an entire harmony of views on his art with either of those authors, yet they were generally nuch admired and approved by him.

"No religious views with him seemed to find any favor xcept of the practical and rationalistic order; and if, from ıy recollections on this subject, I was called upon to des- gnate an author whose views most nearly represented Ir. Lincoln's on this subject, I would say that author as Theodore Parker."

The last witness to testify before this case is submitted o the reader is no less a person that Mrs. Lincoln herself. n a statement made at a time and under circumstances etailed in a subsequent chapter she said this: "Mr. Lin- oln had no faith and no hope in the usual acceptation of nose words. He never joined a Church; but still, as I elieve, he was a religious man by nature. He first eemed to think about the subject when our boy Willie ied, and then more than ever about the time he went

as sent him did contain a paragraph calling the attention of ongress to the subject. When I assisted him in reading the roof he struck it out, remarking that he had not made up his ind as to its propriety."

to Gettysburg; but it was a kind of poetry in his natur
and he was never a technical Christian."

No man had a stronger or firmer faith in Providence-
God—than Mr. Lincoln, but the continued use by him la
in life of the word God must not be interpreted to mea
that he believed in a personal God. In 1854 he asked r
to erase the word God from a speech which I had writt
and read to him for criticism because my language ind
cated a personal God, whereas he insisted no such perso
ality ever existed.

My own testimony, however, in regard to Mr. Lincoln
religious views may perhaps invite discussion. The wor
has always insisted on making an orthodox Christian
him, and to analyze his sayings or sound his beliefs is b
to break the idol. It only remains to say that, wheth
orthodox or not, he believed in God and immortality; a
even if he questioned the existence of future eternal pu
ishment he hoped to find a rest from trouble and a heav
beyond the grave. If at any time in his life he was ske
tical of the divine origin of the Bible he ought n
for that reason to be condemned; for he accepted the pra
tical precepts of that great book as binding alike upon h
head and his conscience. The benevolence of his impuls
the seriousness of his convictions, and the nobility of h
character are evidences unimpeachable that his soul w
ever filled with the exalted purity and sublime faith
natural religion.

HAPTER FIFTEEN

HE RESULT OF THE CAMPAIGN OF 1858 WROUGHT MORE saster to Lincoln's finances than to his political pros- cts. The loss of over six months from his business, and e expenses of the canvass, made a severe drain on his per- nal income. He was anxious to get back to the law ice more and earn a little ready money. A letter written out this time to his friend Norman B. Judd, Chairman the Republican State Committee, will serve to throw me light on the situation he found himself in. "I have en on expenses so long, without earning anything," he ys, "that I am absolutely without money now for even usehold expenses. Still, if you can put in $250 for me wards discharging the debt of the committee, I will low it when you and I settle the private matter between . This, with what I have already paid, with an out- anding note of mine, will exceed my subscription of 00. This, too, is exclusive of my ordinary expenses ring the campaign, all of which, being added to my loss time and business, bears pretty heavily upon one no tter off than I am. But as I had the post of honor, it not for me to be over-nice." At the time this letter as written his property consisted of the house and lot which he lived, a few law books and some household rniture. He owned a small tract of land in Iowa which elded him nothing, and the annual income from his law actice did not exceed $3,000; yet the party's committee Chicago were dunning their late standard-bearer, who, sides the chagrin of his defeat, his own expenses, and e sacrifice of his time, was asked to aid in meeting the neral expenses of the campaign. At this day one is

a little surprised that some of the generous and wealth members of the party in Chicago or elsewhere did n come forward and volunteer their aid. But they did nc and whether Lincoln felt in his heart the injustice of th treatment or not, he went straight ahead in his own pa and said nothing about it.[1]

Political business being off his hands, he now conceive the idea of entering the lecture field. He began prepar tions in the usual way by noting down ideas on stra pieces of paper, which found a lodgment inside his ha and finally brought forth in connected form a lecture "Inventions." He recounted the wonderful improvemen in machinery, the arts, and sciences. Now and then indulged in a humorous paragraph, and witticisms we freely sprinkled throughout the lecture. During the wi ter he delivered it at several towns in the central part the State, but it was so commonplace, and met with su indifferent success, that he soon dropped it altogethe The effort met with the disapproval of his friends, a he himself was filled with disgust. If his address in 185 over the death of Clay, proved that he was no eulogi then this last effort demonstrated that he was no lecture Invitations to deliver the lecture—prompted no doubt the advertisement given him in the contest with Douglas- came in very freely; but beyond the three attempts name he declined them all. "Press of business in the court afforded him a convenient excuse, and he retired fr the field. On March 28, 1859 he wrote W. M. Morri "Your kind note inviting me to deliver a lecture at Gale burg is received. I regret to say I cannot do so no I must stick to the courts awhile. I read a sort of le ture to three different audiences during the last mon and this; but I did so under circumstances which made a waste of no time whatever."

[1] At the time Lincoln wrote Judd he held the notes of eig different persons for an amount totalling $3,000. He owned lot in the town of Lincoln, forty acres in Iowa, and his o home, worth not less than $3,000. His personal account at Springfield Marine and Fire Insurance Company showed a balan of $360.00. See *Bulletin No. 16*, the Abraham Lincoln Associati

"As we were going to Danville court," wrote Henry . Whitney, August 27, 1867, "I read to Lincoln a lecture · Bancroft on the wonderful progress of man, delivered the preceding November. Sometime later he told us—wett and me—that he had been thinking much on the bject and believed he would write a lecture on 'Man and is Progress.' Afterwards I read in a paper that he had me to either Bloomington or Clinton to lecture and one turned out. The paper added, 'That doesn't look uch like his being President.' I once joked him about , he said good-naturedly, 'Don't; that plagues me.'"[2] During the fall of 1859 invitations to take part in the nvass came from over half-a-dozen States where elec-ns were to be held. Douglas, fresh from the Senate, d gone to Ohio, and thither in September Lincoln, in sponse to the demands of party friends everywhere, fol-wed. He delivered telling and impressive speeches at ncinnati[3] and Columbus, following Douglas at both

[2] So far as it is possible to discover now, Lincoln's first lecture s delivered in Bloomington on April 6, 1858. The local editor d of it: "The first half of the lecture displayed great research d a careful study of the Bible. . . . The latter half was brimful original thought." On February 11, 1859, he lectured in Jack-ville, and on the 21st of the same month in Springfield. During arch he spoke again, but the time and place are unknown. It s on April 8, 1859, when he was scheduled to speak at Bloom-ton, that so few attended that the engagement was cancelled. April 26, 1859, the lecture was delivered for the last time at ok's Hall, Springfield.

Herndon used Whitney's reminiscence and Lincoln's letter to rris as footnotes.

[3] In a footnote in the original edition Herndon printed the lowing extract from an article by William M. Dickson in *rper's Magazine* for June, 1884. Dickson, who lived in Cin-nati, had married a cousin of Mrs. Lincoln, and almost certainly ertained Lincoln at the time of the well-known Reaper trial. e returned to the city two years after with a fame as wide the continent, with the laurels of the Douglas contest on his w, and the Presidency in his grasp. He returned greeted h the thunder of cannon, the strains of martial music, and joyous plaudits of thousands of citizens thronging the streets. addressed a vast concourse on Fifth Street Market; was ertained in princely style at the Burnet House, and there

places. Douglas had written a long and carefully pre
pared article on "Popular Sovereignty in the Territories,
which appeared for the first time in the September (1859
number of *Harper's Magazine*. It went back some dis
tance into the history of the government, recounting th
proceedings of the earliest Congresses, and sought to mar
out more clearly than had heretofore been done "the d
viding line between Federal and Local authority." In
speech at Columbus, O., Lincoln answered the "copy-righ
essay" categorically. After alluding to the difference o
position between himself and Judge Douglas on the doc
trine of Popular Sovereignty, he said: "Judge Douglas ha
had a good deal of trouble with Popular Sovereignty. H
explanations, explanatory of explanations explained, ar
interminable. The most lengthy and, as I suppose, th
most maturely considered of his long series of explana
tions is his great essay in *Harper's Magazine*." He mad
such a favorable impression among his Ohio friends tha
after a glorious Republican victory, the State committe

received with courtesy the foremost citizens come to greet th
rising star. With high hope and happy heart he left Cincinna
after a three days' sojourn. But a perverse fortune attended hi
and Cincinnati in their intercourse. Nine months after Mr. Li
coln left us, after he had been nominated for the Presidenc
when he was tranquilly waiting in his cottage home at Sprin
field the verdict of the people, his last visit to Cincinnati ar
the good things he had had at the Burnet House were rude
brought to his memory by a bill presented to him from its pr
prietors. Before leaving the hotel he had applied to the cle
for his bill; was told that it was paid, or words to that effe
This the committee had directed, but afterwards neglected
payment. The proprietors shrewdly surmised that a letter
the nominee for the Presidency would bring the money. T
only significance in this incident is in the letter it brought fro
Mr. Lincoln, revealing his indignation at the seeming imputati
against his honor, and his greater indignation at one item of t
bill. 'As to wines, liquors, and cigars, we had none, absolute
none. These last may have been in Room 15 by order of co
mittee, but I do not recollect them at all!'" This letter, whi
was written to Dickson, may be found in Angle, *New Letters a
Papers of Lincoln*, pp. 247-48.

The paragraph to which this note is appended contains t
passages which were originally footnotes.

sked the privilege of publishing his speeches, along with ose of Douglas, to be used and distributed as a campaign cument. This request he especially appreciated, because ter some effort he had failed to induce any publisher Springfield to undertake the enterprise, thus proving ew that "a prophet is not without honor, save in his vn country." A gentleman is still living, who at the time the debate between Lincoln and Douglas, was a book blisher in Springfield. Lincoln had collected newspaper ps of all the speeches made during the debate, and pro-sed to him their publication in book form; but the man clined, fearing there would be no demand for such a ok. Subsequently, when the speeches were gotten out book form in Ohio, Mr. Lincoln procured a copy and ve it to his Springfield friend, writing on the fly-leaf, Compliments of A. Lincoln."

In December he [Lincoln] visited Kansas, speaking at tchison, Troy, Leavenworth, and other towns near the rder. His speeches there served to extend his reputa-on still further westward. Though his arguments were petitions of the doctrine laid down in the contest with ouglas, yet they were new to the majority of his Kansas arers and were enthusiastically approved. By the close the year he was back again in the dingy law office in ringfield.

How Mr. Lincoln stood on the questions of the hour, ter his defeat by Douglas, is clearly shown in a letter ritten on the 14th of May, 1859, to a friend in Kansas Mark W. Delahay), who had forwarded him an invi-tion to attend a Republican convention there. "You will obably adopt resolutions," he writes, " in the nature of platform. I think the only danger will be the tempta-n to lower the Republican standard in order to gather cruits. In my judgment such a step would be a serious istake, and open a gap through which more would pass t than pass in. And this would be the same whether the ting down should be in deference to Douglasism or to e Southern opposition element; either would surrender e object of the Republican organization—the preventing

of the spread and nationalization of slavery. This obje
surrendered, the organization would go to pieces. I d
not mean by this that no Southern man must be place
upon our national ticket for 1860. There are many me
in the slave states for any one of whom I could cheerful
vote, to be either President or Vice-President, provide
he would enable me to do so with safety to the Republ
can cause, without lowering the Republican standard. Th
is the indispensable condition of a union with us; it is id
to talk of any other. Any other would be as fruitless
the South as distasteful to the North, the whole ending
common defeat. Let a union be attempted on the bas
of ignoring the slavery question, and magnifying oth
questions which the people are just now caring about, ar
it will result in gaining no single electoral vote in th
South, and losing every one in the North." [4]

The opening of the year 1860 found Mr. Lincoln's nam
freely mentioned in connection with the Republican nom
ination for the Presidency. To be classed with Sewar
Chase, McLean, and other celebrities was enough to stir
ulate any Illinois lawyer's pride; but in Mr. Lincoln
case, if it had any such effect, he was most artful in co
cealing it. Now and then some ardent friend, an edito
for example, would run his name up to the mast-hea
but in all cases he discouraged the attempt. "In rega
to the matter you spoke of," he answered one m
(Thomas J. Pickett) who proposed his name, "I beg th
you will not give it further mention. Seriously, I
not think I am fit for the Presidency."

The first effort in his behalf as a Presidential aspira
was the action taken by his friends at a meeting held in t
State House early in 1860, in the rooms of O. M. Hatc
then Secretary of State. Besides Hatch there were pre
ent Norman B. Judd, chairman of the Republican Sta
Committee, Ebenezer Peck, Jackson Grimshaw, and othe
of equal prominence in the party. "We all expressed a pe
sonal preference for Mr. Lincoln," relates one who was
participant in the meeting (Jackson Grimshaw), "as t

[4] Original footnote.

linois candidate for the Presidency, and asked him if his ıme might be used at once in connection with the nomina- ɔn and election. With his characteristic modesty he ɔubted whether he could get the nomination even if he ished it, and asked until the next morning to answer us hether his name might announced. Late the next day : authorized us, if we thought proper to do so, to place m in the field." To the question from Mr. Grimshaw hether, if the nomination for President could not be ob- ined, he would accept the post of Vice-President, he an- vered that he would not; that his name having been used r the office of President, he would not permit it to be ed for any other office, however honorable it might be. his meeting was preliminary to the Decatur convention, ıd was also the first concerted action in his behalf on the ırt of his friends.

In the preceding October he came rushing into the office ıe morning, with the letter from New York City, inviting m to deliver a lecture there, and asked my advice and ıat of other friends as to the subject and character of his ldress. We all recommended a speech on the political tuation. Remembering his poor success as a lecturer mself, he adopted our suggestions. He accepted the in- tation of the New York committee, at the same time otifying them that his speech would deal entirely with olitical questions, and fixing a day late in February as e most convenient time. Meanwhile he spent the inter- ning time in careful preparation. He searched through e dusty volumes of congressional proceedings in the ate library, and dug deeply into political history. He as painstaking and thorough in the study of his subject, t when at last he left for New York we had many mis- vings—and he not a few himself—of his sucess in the eat metropolis. What effect the unpretentious Western wyer would have on the wealthy and fashionable society the great city could only be conjectured. A description the meeting at Cooper Institute, a list of the names of e prominent men and women present, or an account of ncoln in the delivery of the address would be needless

repetitions of well-known history. It only remains to sa
that his speech was devoid of all rhetorical imagery, wit
a marked suppression of the pyrotechnics of stump ora
tory. It was constructed with a view to accuracy of stat
ment, simplicity of language, and unity of thought. I
some respects like a lawyer's brief, it was logical, tempe
ate in tone, powerful—irresistibly driving conviction hom
to men's reasons and their souls. No former effort i
the line of speech-making had cost Lincoln so much tim
and thought as this one. It is said by one of his biogra
phers, that those afterwards engaged in getting out th
speech as a campaign document were three weeks in ver
fying the statements and finding the historical records r
ferred to and consulted by him. This is probably a litt
over-stated as to time, but unquestionably the work o
verification and reference was in any event a very labore
and extended one. (Mr. Lincoln obtained most of th
facts of his Cooper Institute speech from Eliott's "D
bates on the Federal Constitution." There were six vo
umes, which he gave to me when he went to Washingto
in 1861.) The day following the Cooper Institute mee
ing, the leading New York dailies published the speec
in full, and made favorable editorial mention of it and o
the speaker as well. It was plain now that Lincoln ha
captured the metropolis. From New York he traveled
New England to visit his son Robert, who was attendi
college. In answer to the many calls and invitations whi
showered on him, he spoke at various places in Connec
cut, Rhode Island, and New Hampshire. In all these plac
he not only left deep impressions of his ability, but
convinced New England of his intense earnestness in t
great cause. The newspapers treated him with no litt
consideration. One paper (the *Manchester Mirror*) cha
acterized his speech as one of "great fairness," deliver
with "great apparent candor and wonderful interest. F
the first half hour his opponents would agree with eve
word he uttered; and from that point he would lead the
off little by little until it seemed as if he had got them
into his fold. He is far from prepossessing in perso

ppearance, and his voice is disagreeable; and yet he wins our attention from the start. He indulges in no flowers f rhetoric, no eloquent passages. . . . He displays more hrewdness, more knowledge of the masses of mankind han any public speaker we have heard since Long Jim Vilson left for California."

On his return home Lincoln told me that for once in is life he was greatly abashed over his personal appear-nce. The new suit of clothes which he donned on his rrival in New York were ill-fitting garments, and showed ie creases made while packed in the valise; and for a ng time after he began his speech and before he became warmed up" he imagined that the audience noticed the ontrast between his Western clothes and the neat-fitting uits of Mr. Bryant and others who sat on the platform. he collar of his coat on the right side had an unpleasant ay of flying up whenever he raised his arm to gesticu-te. He imagined the audience noticed that also. After ie meeting closed, the newspaper reporters called for ips of his speech. This amused him, because he had no lea what slips were, and besides, didn't suppose the news-apers cared to print his speech verbatim.[5]

Lincoln's return to Springfield after his dazzling success the East was the signal for earnest congratulations on ie part of his friends. Seward was the great man of the ay, but Lincoln had demonstrated to the satisfaction of is friends that he was tall enough and strong enough to easure swords with the Auburn statesman. His triumph New York and New England had shown that the idea of house divided against itself induced as strong co-opera-on and hearty support in prevention of a great wrong in ie East as the famous "irrepressible conflict" attracted arriors to Seward's standard in the Mississippi valley. was apparent now to Lincoln that the Presidential nom-ation was within his reach. He began gradually to lose s interest in the law and to trim his political sails at the me time. His recent success had stimulated his self-nfidence to unwonted proportions. He wrote to influ-

[5] Original footnote.

ential party workers everywhere. I know the idea prevai
that Lincoln sat still in his chair in Springfield, and th
one of those unlooked-for-tides in human affairs can
along and cast the nomination into his lap; but any ma
who has had experience in such things knows that gre
political prizes are not obtained in that way. The truth i
Lincoln was as vigilant as he was ambitious, and there
no denying the fact that he understood the situation pe
fectly from the start. In the management of his ow
interests he was obliged to rely almost entirely on his ow
resources. He had no money with which to maintain
political bureau, and he lacked any kind of personal organ
zation whatever. Seward had all these things, and, behin
them all, a brilliant record in the United States Senate wi
which to dazzle his followers. But with all his prestig
and experience the latter was no more adroit and no mo
untiring in pursuit of his ambition than the man who ha
just delivered the Cooper Institute speech. A letter writte
by Lincoln about this time to a friend in Kansas serv
to illustrate his methods, and measures the extent of h
ambition. The letter is dated March 10, and is now
my possession. For obvious reasons I withhold th
friend's name.[6] "As to your kind wishes for myself
writes Lincoln, "allow me to say I cannot enter the ring
the money basis—first, because in the main it is wrong
and secondly, I have not and cannot get the money. I s
in the main the use of money is wrong; but for certain o
jects in a political contest the use of some is both right a
indispensable. With me, as with yourself, this long strugg
has been one of great pecuniary loss. I now distinctly s
this: 'If you shall be appointed a delegate to Chicago
will furnish one hundred dollars to bear the expenses
the trip.'" There is enough in this letter to show that Li
coln was not only determined in his political ambition, b
intensely practical as well. His eye was constantly fa
ened on Seward, who had already freely exercised t
rights of leadership in the party. All other competitors
dropped out of the problem. In the middle of April

[6] It was Mark W. Delahay.

gain writes his Kansas friend: "Reaching home last night found yours of the 7th. You know I was recently in New ngland. Some of the acquaintances I made while there rite me since the election that the close vote in Connec-cut and the quasi-defeat in Rhode Island are a drawback on the prospects of Governor Seward; and Trumbull rites Dubois to the same effect. Do not mention this as ming from me. Both these States are safe enough in the ll." But, while Seward may have lost ground near his me, he was acquiring strength in the West. He had vaded the very territory Lincoln was intending to retain virtue of his course in the contest with Douglas. Lin-ln's friend in Kansas, instead of securing that delegation r him, had suffered the Seward men to outgeneral him, d the prospects were by no means flattering. "I see by e dispatches," writes Lincoln, in a burst of surprise, hat, since you wrote, Kansas has appointed delegates and structed for Seward. Don't stir them up to anger, but me along to the convention and I will do as I said about penses." Whether the friend ever accepted Lincoln's nerous offer I do not know, but it may not be without terest to state that within ten days after the latter's auguration he appointed him to a Federal office with com-rable salary attached, and even asked for his preferences to other contemplated appointments in his own State.[7] You will start for Kansas before I see you again"; he rote, "and when I saw you a moment this morning I rgot to ask you about some of the Kansas appointments, hich I intended to do. If you care much about them you

[7] On May 12, 1860, Lincoln wrote Delahay the following letter:

My Dear Sir:

"Yours informing me of your arrival in Chicago was duly ceived. Dubois, our A[uditor, goes] to Chicago to-day; and will hand you $ [?. The] remainder will come before you ve the s[tate.] . . ."

In April, 1861, Lincoln appointed Delahay Surveyor-General r Kansas and Nebraska, and in 1863, United States District dge for Kansas. His conduct in the latter office was such at impeachment proceedings were instituted, whereupon he re-gned. Angle, *New Letters and Papers of Lincoln*, p. 243.

can write, as I think I shall not make the appointmen just yet."

This case illustrates quite forcibly Lincoln's weakness i dealing with individuals. This man I know had writte Lincoln, promising to bring the Kansas delegation to Ch cago for him if he would only pay his expenses. Lincol was weak enough to make the promise, and yet such wa his faith in the man that he appointed him to an importa judicial position and gave him great prominence in oth ways. What President or candidate for President woul dare do such a thing now?[8]

In the rapid, stirring scenes that crowd upon each oth from this time forward the individuality of Lincoln easily lost sight of. He was so thoroughly interwoven i the issues before the people of Illinois that he had becom a part of them. Among his colleagues at the bar he wa no longer looked upon as the circuit-court lawyer earlier days. To them it seemed as if the nation were abo to lay its claim upon him. His tall form enlarged, unt to use a figurative expression, he could no longer pa through the door of our dingy office. Reference has a ready been made to the envy of his rivals at the bar, ar the jealousy of his political contemporaries. Very fe indeed were free from the degrading passion; but it ma no difference in Lincoln's treatment of them. He was generous and deferred to them as much as ever. The fir public movement by the Illinois people in his interest w the action of the State convention, which met at Decat on the 9th and 10th of May. It was at this conventi that Lincoln's friend and cousin, John Hanks, brought the two historic rails which both had made in the Sang mon bottom in 1830, and which served the double purpo of electrifying the Illinois people and kindling the fire enthusiasm that was destined to sweep over the nation. the words of an ardent Lincoln delegate, "These ra were to represent the issue in the coming contest betwe labor free and labor slave; between democracy and ar

[8] This paragraph, and the quotation from Lincoln's letter wh precedes it, were originally footnotes.

cracy. Little did I think," continues our jubilant and fusive friend, "of the mighty consequences of this little cident; little did I think that the tall, and angular, and ny rail-splitter who stood in girlish diffidence bowing with vkward grace would fill the chair once filled by Washing-n, and that his name would echo in chants of praise along e corridor of all coming time." A week later the hosts ere gathered for the great convention in Chicago. David avis had rented rooms in the Tremont House and opened "Lincoln's headquarters." I was not a delegate, but longed to the contingent which had Lincoln's interests charge. Judge Logan was the Springfield delegate, and him Lincoln had given a letter authorizing the with-awal of his name whenever his friends deemed such tion necessary or proper. Davis was the active man, and d the business management in charge. If any negotia-ons were made, he made them. The convention was held a monster building called the Wigwam. No one who s ever attempted a description of it has overdrawn its thusiasm and exciting scenes. Amid all the din and con-sion, the curbstone contentions, the promiscuous wrang-g of delegates, the deafening roar of the assembled sts, the contest narrowed down to a neck-and-neck race tween the brilliant statesman of Auburn and the less etentious, but manly rail-splitter from the Sangamon ttoms. With the proceedings of the convention the rld is already well familiar. On the first ballot Seward d, but was closely followed by Lincoln; on the second ncoln gained amazingly; on the third the race was an en one until the dramatic change by Carter, of Ohio, nen Lincoln, swinging loose, swept grandly to the front. ne cannon planted on the roof of the Wigwam belched rth a boom across the Illinois prairies. The sound was ken up and reverberated from Maine to California. With e nomination of Hannibal Hamlin, of Maine, the conven-n adjourned. The delegates—victorious and vanquished ke—turned their steps homeward, and the great cam-ign of 1860 had begun. The day before the nomination e editor of the Springfield *Journal* arrived in Chicago

with a copy of the Missouri *Democrat,* in which Linco
had marked three passages referring to Seward's positic
on the slavery question. On the margin of the paper
had written in pencil, "I agree with Seward in his 'Irr
pressible Conflict,' but I do not endorse his 'Higher La
doctrine." Then he added in words underscored. "Ma
no contracts that will bind me." This paper was broug
into the room where Davis, Judd, Logan, and I we
gathered, and was read to us. But Lincoln was down
Springfield, some distance away from Chicago, and cou
therefore not appreciate the gravity of the situation;
least so Davis argued, and, viewing it in that light, t
latter went ahead with his negotiations. What the cons
quences of these deals were will appear later on. T
news of his nomination found Lincoln at Springfield
the office of the *Journal.* Naturally enough he was ner
ous, restless, and laboring under more or less suppress
excitement. He had been tossing ball—a pastime fr
quently indulged in by the lawyers of that day, and h
played a few games of billiards to keep down, as anoth
has expressed it, "the unnatural excitement that threaten
to posses him." When the telegram containing the res
of the last ballot came in, although apparently calm a
undisturbed, a close observer could have detected in t
compressed lip and serious countenance evidences
deep and unusual emotion. As the balloting progress
he had gone to the office of the *Journal,* and was s
ting in a large arm-chair there when the news of
nomination came. What a line of scenes, stretching fr
the barren glade in Kentucky to the jubilant and enthui
tic throng in the Wigwam at Chicago, must have brok
in upon his vision as he hastened from the newspa
office to "tell a little woman down the street the news
In the evening his friends and neighbors called to c
gratulate him. He thanked them feelingly and shook th
each by the hand. A day later the committee from
convention, with George Ashmun, of Massachusetts, at
head, called, and delivered formal notice of his nominati
This meeting took place at his house. His response v

uched in polite and dignified language, and many of the mmittee, who now met him for the first time, departed th an improved impression of the new standard-bearer. few days later he wrote his official letter of acceptance, which he warmly endorsed the resolutions of the con-ntion. His actions and utterances so far had begun to ssipate the erroneous notion prevalent in some of the ore remote Eastern States, that he was more of a back-ods boor than a gentleman; but with the arrival of the mpaign in dead earnest, people paid less attention to the ndidates and more to the great issues at stake. Briefly ted, the Republican platform was a declaration that "the w dogma, that the Constitution carries slavery into all e Territories, is a dangerous political heresy, revolution-y in tendency and subversive of the peace and harmony the country; that the normal condition of all the Terri-ries is that of freedom; that neither Congress, the Terri-rial Legislature, nor any individual can give legal exist-ce to slavery in any Territory; that the opening of the ve trade would be a crime against humanity." Resolu-ns favoring a homestead law, river and harbor improve-ents, and the Pacific railroad were also included in the atform. With these the Republicans, as a lawyer would y, went to the country. The campaign which followed s one with few parallels in American history. There s not only the customary exultation and enthusiasm over ndidates, but there was patient listening and hard think-g among the masses. The slavery question, it was felt, ust soon be decided. Threats of disunion were the texts many a campaign speech in the South: in fact, as has ce been shown, a deep laid conspiracy to overthrow the nion was then forming, and was only awaiting the elec-n of a Republican President to show its hideous head. e Democratic party was struggling under the demoraliz-g effects of a split, in which even the Buchanan admin-ration had taken sides. Douglas, the nominee of one ng, in his desperation had entered into the canvass him-f, making speeches with all the power and eloquence at command. The Republicans, cheered over the pros-

pect, had joined hands with the Abolitionists, and bo
were marching to victory under the inspiration of Lincol
sentiment, that "the further spread of slavery should
arrested, and it should be placed where the public mi
shall rest in the belief of its ultimate extinction."

As the canvass advanced and waxed warm I tender
my services and made a number of speeches in the centr
part of the State. I remember, in the midst of a speech
Petersburg, and just as I was approaching an oratori
climax, a man out of breath came rushing up to me a
thrust a message into my hand. I was somewhat fru
trated and greatly alarmed, fearing it might contain ne
of some accident in my family; but great was my reli
when I read it, which I did aloud. It was a message fro
Lincoln, telling me to be of good cheer, that Ohio, Pen
sylvania, and Indiana had gone Republican.

The handwriting of the note was a little tremulo
showing that Lincoln was excited and nervous when
wrote it. Following is a copy of the original MS.:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., October 10, 1860.

"DEAR WILLIAM: I cannot give you details, but it is
tirely certain that Pennsylvania and Indiana have gone R
publican very largely. Pennsylvania 25,000, and India
5,000 to 10,000. Ohio of course is safe.

"Yours as ever,

"A. LINCOLN."

These were then October States, and this was the fi
gun for the great cause. It created so much demonstrati
such a burst of enthusiasm and confusion, that the cro
forgot they had any speaker; they ran yelling and hurra
ing out of the hall, and I never succeeded in finishi
the speech.

As soon as officially notified of his nomination[9] N

[9] Following is Lincoln's letter of acceptance:

"SPRINGFIELD, ILL., June 23, 1

"SIR: I accept the nomination tendered me by the conven
over which you presided, of which I am formally apprised
a letter of yourself and others, acting as a committee of

ncoln moved his headquarters from our office to a room the State House building, and there, with his secretary, hn G. Nicolay, he spent the busy and exciting days of campaign. Of course he attended to no law business, t still he loved to come to our office of evenings, and end an hour with a few choice friends in a friendly vacy which was denied him at his public quarters. These re among the last meetings we had with Lincoln as our end and fellow at the bar; and they are also the most lightful recollections any of us have retained of him.

One of what Lincoln regarded as the remarkable feat-es of his canvass for President was the attitude of some his neighbors in Springfield. A poll of the voters had en made in a little book and given to him. On running er the names he found that the greater part of the rgy of the city—in fact all but three—were against him. is depressed him somewhat, and he called in Dr. Newton teman, who as Superintendent of Public Instruction cupied the room adjoining his own in the State House, d whom he habitually addressed as "Mr. Schoolmaster." commented bitterly on the attitude of the preachers d many of their followers, who, pretending to be believ-in the Bible and God-fearing Christians, yet by their tes demonstrated that they cared not whether slavery s voted up or down. "God cares and humanity cares," reflected, "and if they do not they surely have not read ir Bible aright."[10]

vention for that purpose. The declaration of principles which ompanies your letter meets my approval, and it shall be my e not to violate it or disregard it in any part. Imploring assistance of Divine Providence, and with due regard to the ws and feelings of all who were represented in the convention, the rights of all the states and territories and people of the ion, to the inviolability of the Constitution, and the perpetual on, prosperity, and harmony of all, I am most happy to co-rate for the practical success of the principles declared by convention.

"Your obliged friend and fellow-citizen,
"ABRAHAM LINCOLN."

on. George Ashmun."

[10] Original footnote.

At last the turmoil and excitement and fatigue of t campaign were over: the enthusiastic political work threw aside their campaign uniforms, the boys blew their torches, and the voter approached the polls with ballot. On the morning of election day I stepped in to Mr. Lincoln, and was surprised to learn that he did intend to cast his vote. I knew of course that he did because of a feeling that the candidate for a President office ought not to vote for his own electors; but when suggested the plan of cutting off the Presidential elect and voting for the State officers, he was struck with idea, and at last consented. His appearance at the po accompanied by Ward Lamon, the lamented young E worth, and myself, was the occasion of no little surpr because of the general impression which prevailed that did not intend to vote. The crowd around the polls open a gap as the distinguished voter approached, and some ev removed their hats as he deposited his ticket and nounced in a subdued voice his name, "Abraham Lincol

The election was held on the 6th of November. T result showed a popular vote of 1,857,610 for Linco 1,291,574 for Douglas; 850,022 for Breckenridge; a 646,124 for Bell. In the electoral college Lincoln recei 180 votes, Breckenridge 72, Bell 39, and Douglas 1 Mr. Lincoln having now been elected, there remained, fore taking up the reins of government, the details of departure from Springfield, and the selection of a cabi

[11] Lincoln electors were chosen in seventeen of the free Sta as follows: Maine, New Hampshire, Massachusetts, Rhode land, Connecticut, Vermont, New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, diana, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, Califor Oregon; and in one State,—New Jersey,—owing to a fu between Democrats, Lincoln secured four and Douglas three the electors. Alabama, Arkansas, Delaware, Florida, Geor Louisiana, Maryland, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, Texas went for Breckenridge; Kentucky, Tennessee, and Virg for Bell; while Douglas secured only one entire State—Miss

HAPTER SIXTEEN

E ELECTION OVER, MR. LINCOLN SCARCELY HAD TIME take a breath until another campaign and one equally ing, so far as a test of his constitution and nerves are ncerned, as the one through which he had just passed, ened up before him. I refer to the siege of the cabinet-kers and office-seekers. It proved to be a severe and otracted strain and one from which there seemed to be relief, as the President-elect of this renowned demo-tic Government is by custom and precedent expected meet and listen to everybody who calls to see him. "In-iduals, deputations, and delegations," says one of Mr. ncoln's biographers, "from all quarters pressed in upon n in a manner that might have killed a man of less ro-st constitution. The hotels of Springfield were filled h gentlemen who came with light baggage and heavy emes. The party had never been in office. A clean eep of the 'ins' was expected, and all the 'outs' were riotically anxious to take the vacant places. It was a ty that had never fed; and it was vigorously hungry. . Lincoln and Artemus Ward saw a great deal of fun it; and in all human probability it was the fun alone t enabled Mr. Lincoln to bear it."

A newspaper correspondent who had been sent down m Chicago to "write up" Mr. Lincoln soon after his nination, was kind enough several years ago to furnish with an account of his visit. As some of his remi-cences are more or less interesting, I take the liberty inserting a portion of his letter. "A what-not in the ner of the room," he relates, "was laden with various ds of shells. Taking one in my hand, I said, 'This, I

suppose, is called a Trocus by the geologist or naturali
Mr. Lincoln paused a moment as if reflecting and th
replied, 'I do not know, for I never studied either geolo
or natural history.' I then took to examining the f
pictures that hung on the walls, and was paying mo
than ordinary attention to one that hung above the so
He was immediately at my left and pointing to it sa
'That picture gives a very fair representation of my hom
face.' . . . The time for my departure nearing, I ma
the usual apologies and started to go. 'You cannot get
of town before a quarter past eleven,' remonstrated M
Lincoln, 'and you may as well stay a little longer.' Und
pretence of some unfinished matters down town, ho
ever, I very reluctantly withdrew from the mansi
'Well,' said Mr. Lincoln, as we passed into the hall, 'su
pose you come over to the State House before you st
for Chicago.' After a moment's deliberation I promis
to do so. Mr. Lincoln, following without his hat, a
continuing the conversation, shook hands across the ga
saying, 'Now, come over.' I wended my way to my ho
and after a brief period was in his office at the St
House. Resuming conversation, he said, 'If the man con
with the key before you go, I want to give you a boo
I certainly hoped the man *would* come with the k
Some conversation had taken place at the house on wh
his book treated,—but I had forgotten this,—and soon M
Lincoln absented himself for perhaps two minutes and
turned with a copy of the debates between himself a
Judge Douglas. He placed the book on his knee, as he
on two legs of his chair, and wrote on the fly-leaf, 'J.
Bliss, from A. Lincoln.' Besides this he marked a co
plete paragraph near the middle of the book. While sitt
in the position described little Willie, his son, came
and begged his father for twenty-five cents. 'My s
said the father, 'what do you want with twenty-five cen
'I want it to buy candy with,' cried the boy. 'I cannot g
you twenty-five cents, my son, but will give you five cen
at the same time putting his thumb and finger into
vest pocket and taking therefrom five cents in silver, wh

placed upon the desk for the boy. But this did not ch Willie's expectations; he scorned the pile, and turn- away clambered down-stairs and through the spacious s of the Capitol, leaving behind him his five cents and a inct reverberation of sound. Mr. Lincoln turned to and said, 'He will be back after that in a few minutes.' hy do you think so?' said I. 'Because, as soon as he ls I will give him no more he will come and get it.' er the matter had been nearly forgotten and conversa- n had turned in an entirely different channel, Willie ne cautiously in behind my chair and that of his father, ked up the specie, and went away without saying a rd."[1]

His own election of course disposed of any claims Illi- s might have had to any further representation in the inet, but it afforded Mr. Lincoln no relief from the umentative interviews and pressing claims of the end- s list of ambitious statesmen in the thirty-two other tes, who swarmed into Springfield from every point of compass. He told each one of them a story, and even if failed to put their names on his slate they went away hout knowing that fact, and never forgot the visit. He a way of pretending to assure his visitor that in the ice of his advisers he was "free to act as his judgment cated," although David Davis, acting as his manager at Chicago convention, had negotiated with the Indiana Pennsylvania delegations, and assigned places in the inet to Simon Cameron and Caleb Smith, besides mak- other "arrangements" which Mr. Lincoln was expected ratify. Of this he was undoubtedly aware, although nswer to a letter from Joshua R. Giddings, of Ohio, gratulating him on his nomination, he said, "It is in- d most grateful to my feelings that the responsible ition assigned me comes without conditions." Out of ard to the dignity of the exalted station he was about ccupy, he was not as free in discussing the matter of probable appointments with some of his personal

[1] J. S. Bliss to Herndon, Jan. 29, 1867. The quotation was finally used as a footnote.

friends as they had believed he would be. In one or t
instances, I remember, the latter were offended at
seeming disregard of the claims of old friendship.
advice was not asked for on such grave subjects, nor
I any right or reason to believe it would be; hence I ne
felt slighted or offended. On some occasions in our off
when Mr. Lincoln had come across from the State Ho
for a rest or a chat with me, he would relate now and t
some circumstance—generally an amusing one—connec
with the settlement of the cabinet problem, but it was s
in such a way that one would not have felt free to inter
gate him about his plans. Soon after his election I
ceived from my friend Joseph Medill, of Chicago, a le
which argued strongly against the appointment of Sir
Cameron to a place in the cabinet, and which the wr
desired I should bring to Mr. Lincoln's attention.
awaited a favorable opportunity, and one evening w
we were alone in our office I gave it to him. It was
eloquent protest against the appointment of a corrupt
debased man, and coming from the source it did—
writer being one of Lincoln's best newspaper suppor
—made a deep impression on him. Lincoln read it c
several times, but refrained from expressing any opin
He did say, however, that he felt himself under no pron
or obligation to appoint anyone; that if his friends m
any agreements for him they did so over his expres
direction and without his knowledge. At another time
said that he wanted to give the South, by way of placat
a place in his cabinet; that a fair division of the cou
entitled the Southern States to a reasonable representa
there, and if not interfered with he would make suc
distribution as would satisfy all persons interested.
named three persons who would be acceptable to
They were Botts, of Virginia; Stephens, of Georgia;
Maynard, of Tennessee. He apprehended no such g
danger to the Union as the mass of people supposed w
result from the Southern threats, and said he could
in his heart believe that the South designed the overth
of the Government. This is the extent of my conve

about the cabinet. Thurlow Weed, the veteran in nalism and politics, came out from New York and t several days with Lincoln. He was not only the esentative of Senator Seward, but rendered the Presi--elect signal service in the formation of his cabinet. his autobiography Mr. Weed relates numerous inci- s of this visit. He was one day opposing the claims of tgomery Blair who aspired to a cabinet appointment, n Mr. Lincoln inquired of Weed whom he would mmend. "Henry Winter Davis," was the response. vid Davis, I see, has been posting you up on this ques- ," retorted Lincoln. "He has Davis on the brain. I k Maryland must be a good State to move from." The sident then told a story of a witness in court in a neigh- ng county, who on being asked his age replied, "Sixty." ng satisfied he was much older the question was re- ed, and on receiving the same answer, the court ad- ished the witness, saying, "The court knows you to be h older than sixty." "Oh, I understand now," was rejoinder; "you're thinking of those ten years I spent he eastern shore of Maryland; that was so much time and don't count."

efore Mr. Lincoln's departure from Springfield, peo- who knew him personally were frequently asked what of man he was. I received many letters, generally n the Eastern States, showing that much doubt still ted in the minds of the people whether he would prove l to the great task that lay in store for him. Among rs who wrote me on the subject was the Hon. Henry son, late Vice-President of the United States, whom d met during my visit to Washington in the spring of 3. Two years after Mr. Lincoln's death, Mr. Wilson te me as follows: "I have just finished reading your r dated December 21, 1860, in answer to a letter of e asking you to give me your opinion of the President elected. In this letter to me you say of Mr. Lincoln t more than four years of observation confirmed. er stating that you had been his law partner for over teen years and his most intimate and bosom friend all

that time you say, 'I know him better than he does h
self. I know this seems a little strong, but I risk the
sertion. Lincoln is a man of heart—aye, as gentle a
woman's and as tender—but he has a will strong as ir
He therefore loves all mankind, hates slavery and ev
form of despotism. Put these together—love for the sla
and a determination, a will, that justice, strong and
yielding, shall be done when he has the right to act,
you can form your own conclusions. Lincoln will
here, namely, if a question of political economy—if
question comes up which is doubtful, questionable, wh
no man can demonstrate, then his friends can rule hi
but when on justice, right, liberty, the Government,
Constitution, and the Union, then you may all stand asi
he will rule then, and no man can move him—no set of
can do it. There is no fail here. This is Lincoln, and
mark my prediction. You and I must keep the peo
right; God will keep Lincoln right.' These words of yo
made a deep impression upon my mind, and I came to
and trust him even before I saw him. After an acqua
tance of more than four years I found that your idea
him was in all respects correct—that he was the lov
tender, firm, and just man you represented him to
while upon some questions in which moral elements
not so clearly enter he was perhaps too easily influen
by others. Mr. Lincoln was a genuine democrat in f
ings, sentiments, and actions. How patiently and c
siderately he listened amid the terrible pressure of pu
affairs to the people who thronged his ante-room! I
member calling upon him one day during the war on pr
ing business. The ante-room was crowded with men
women seeking admission. He seemed oppressed, c
worn, and weary. I said to him, 'Mr. President, you
too exhausted to see this throng waiting to see you;
will wear yourself out and ought not see these pe
today.' He replied, with one of those smiles in w
sadness seemed to mingle, 'They don't want much;
get but little, and I must see them.' During the war
heart was oppressed and his life burdened with the

between the tenderness of his nature and what seemed
be the imperative demands of duty. In the darkest
rs of the conflict desertions from the army were fre-
nt, and army officers urgently pressed the execution of
sentences of the law; but it was with the greatest effort
he would bring himself to consent to the execution of
judgment of the military tribunals. I remember call-
early one sabbath morning with a wounded Irish offi-
who came to Washington to say that a soldier who
been sentenced to be shot in a day or two for deser-
had fought gallantly by his side in battle. I told Mr.
coln we had come to ask him to pardon the poor soldier.
er a few moments' reflection he said, 'My officers tell
the good of the service demands the enforcement of
law; but it makes my heart ache to have the poor fel-
s shot. I will pardon this soldier, and then you will all
in blaming me for it. You censure me for granting
dons, and yet you all ask me to do so.' I say again, no
n had a more loving and tender nature than Mr. Lin-
n."

Before departing for Washington Mr. Lincoln went to
icago[2] for a few days' stay, and there by previous ar-
gement met his old friend, Joshua F. Speed. Both
re accompanied by their wives, and while the latter were
shopping the two husbands repaired to Speed's room
he hotel. "For an hour or more," relates Speed, "we
d over again the scenes of other days. Finally Lin-
n threw himself on the bed and fixing his eyes on a
t in the ceiling asked me this question, 'Speed, what is
r pecuniary condition? are you rich or poor?' I an-

[2] Lincoln went to Chicago to meet Hannibal Hamlin, with
m he was unacquainted. Accompanied by Mrs. Lincoln, he
Springfield on November 21 and returned five days later.
ndon printed the following anecdote of the trip as a footnote:
lady called one day at the hotel where the Lincolns were
ping in Chicago to take Mrs. Lincoln out for a promenade
drive. She was met in the parlor by Mr. Lincoln, who, after
rried trip up stairs to ascertain the cause of the delay in his
's appearance, returned with the report that 'She will be
n as soon as she has all her trotting harness on'."

swered, addressing him by his new title, 'Mr. Preside
I think I can anticipate what you are going to say.
speak candidly to you on the subject. My pecuniary co
dition is satisfactory to me now; you would perhaps c
it good. I do not think you have within your gift a
office I could afford to take.' Mr. Lincoln then propos
to make Guthrie, of Kentucky, Secretary of War, but
not want to write to him—asked me to feel of him. I
as requested, but the Kentucky statesman declined on
ground of his advanced age, and consequent physical i
bility to fill the position. He gave substantial assura
of his loyal sentiments, however, and insisted that
Union should be preserved at all hazards."

Late in January Mr. Lincoln informed me that he w
ready to begin the preparation of his inaugural addre
He had, aside from his law books and the few gilded v
umes that ornamented the centre-table in his parlor
home, comparatively no library. He never seemed to c
to own or collect books. On the other hand I had a v
respectable collection, and was adding to it every d
To my library Lincoln very frequently had access. Wh
therefore, he began on his inaugural speech he told
what works he intended to consult. I looked for a l
list, but when he went over it I was greatly surpris
He asked me to furnish him with Henry Clay's gr
speech delivered in 1850; Andrew Jackson's proclamat
against Nullification; and a copy of the Constitution.
afterwards called for Webster's reply to Hayne, a spe
which he read when he lived at New Salem, and which
always regarded as the grandest specimen of Ameri
oratory. With these few "volumes," and no further sour
of reference, he locked himself up in a room upstairs o
a store across the street from the State House, and the
cut off from all communication and intrusion, he prepa
the address. Though composed amid the unromantic s
roundings of a dingy, dusty, and neglected back room,
speech has become a memorable document. Posterity
assign to it a high rank among historical utterances;
it will ever bear comparison with the efforts of Washi

. Jefferson, Adams, or any that preceded its delivery
m the steps of the national Capitol.

After Mr. Lincoln's rise to national prominence, and
ecially since his death, I have often been asked if I did
write this or that paper for him; if I did not prepare
help prepare some of his speeches. I know that other
abler friends of Lincoln have been asked the same
stion. ("I know it was the general impression in Wash-
ton," said David Davis in 1866, "that I knew all about
coln's plans and ideas, but the truth is, I knew nothing.
never confided to me anything of his purposes.")[2]
people who made such inquiries I always responded,
ou don't understand Mr. Lincoln. No man ever asked
aid than he; his confidence in his own ability to
et the requirements of every hour was so marked that
friends never thought of tendering their aid, and
refore no one could share his responsibilities. I never
ote a line for him; he never asked me to. I was never
scious of having exerted any influence over him. He
en called out my views on some philosophical question,
ply because I was a fond student of philosophy, and
ceding that I had given the subject more attention than
he often asked as to the use of a word or the turn of
entence, but if I volunteered to recommend or even
gest a change of language which involved a change of
timent I found him the most inflexible man I have ever
n."

One more duty—an act of filial devotion—remained to
lone before Abraham Lincoln could announce his readi-
s to depart for the city of Washington—a place from
ch it was unfortunately decreed he should never return.
he first week of February he slipped quietly away from
ingfield and rode to Farmington in Coles County,
ere his aged step-mother was still living. Here, in the
e country village, he met also the surviving members
he Hanks and Johnston families. He visited the grave
his father, old Thomas Lincoln, which had been un-

[2] Herndon used Davis' statement as a footnote in the original
on.

marked and neglected for almost a decade, and left dir
tions that a suitable stone should be placed there to ma
the spot. Retracing his steps in the direction of Sprin
field he stopped over-night in the town of Charlest
where he made a brief address, recalling many of his bo
hood exploits, in the public hall. In the audience we
many persons who had known him first as the stalw
young ox-driver when his father's family drove into I
nois from southern Indiana. One man had brought w
him a horse which the President-elect, in the earlier da
of his law practice, had recovered for him in a reple
suit; another one was able to recite from personal recoll
tion the thrilling details of the famous wrestling ma
between Lincoln the flat-boatman in 1830 and Dan
Needham; and all had some reminiscence of his ea
manhood to relate. The separation from his step-moth
was particularly touching.[4] The parting, when the go
old woman, with tears streaming down her cheeks, ga
him a mother's benediction, expressing the fear that
life might be taken by his enemies, will never be forgot
by those who witnessed it. Deeply impressed by this fa
well scene Mr. Lincoln reluctantly withdrew from
circle of warm friends who crowded around him, a
filled with gloomy forebodings of the future, returned
Springfield. The great questions of state having b
pretty well settled in his own mind, and a few days
remaining before his final departure, his neighbors a

[4] In a footnote to this sentence Herndon described Linco
love for his second mother as "a most filial and affectionate o
In support of his statement he quoted the following letter, wri
in 1851 shortly after Thomas Lincoln's death: "Dear Moth
Chapman tells me he wants you to go and live with him. I
were you I would try it awhile. If you get tired of it (as I th
you will not) you can return to your own home. Chapman f
very kindly to you; and I have no doubt he will make y
situation very pleasant. Sincerely your son, A. Lincoln."
also quoted the following extract from a letter to John D. Jo
ston: "If the land can be sold so that I can get three hun
dollars to put to interest for mother I will not object if
does not. But before I will make a deed the money mus
had, or secured beyond all doubt at ten per cent."

friends called to take leave of him and pay their "best ,ects." Many of these callers were from New Salem, ere he had made his start in life, and each one had ie pleasant or amusing incident of earlier days to call when they met. Hannah Armstrong, who had "foxed" trousers with buckskin in the days when he served as veyor under John Calhoun, and whose son Lincoln had erwards acquitted in the trial for murder at Beards-n, gave positive evidence of the interest she took in continued rise in the world. She bade him good-bye, was filled with a presentiment that she would never him alive again. "Hannah," he said, jovially, "if they kill me I shall never die again." Isaac Cogsdale, an-er New Salem pioneer, came, and to him Lincoln again nitted his love for the unfortunate Anne Rutledge. gsdale afterwards told me of this interview. It occurred in the afternoon. Mr. Nicolay, the secretary, had ie home, and the throng of visitors had ceased for the . Lincoln asked about all the early families of New em, calling up the peculiarities of each as he went over list. Of the Rutledges he said: "I have loved the name Rutledge to this day. I have kept my mind on their vements ever since." Of Anne he spoke with some ling: "I loved her dearly. She was a handsome girl, uld have made a good, loving wife; she was natural, and te intellectual, though not highly educated. I did estly and truly love the girl, and think often of her ."

Early in February the last item of preparation for the rney to Washington had been made. Mr. Lincoln had posed of his household goods and furniture to a neigh-, had rented his house; and as these constituted all the perty he owned in Illinois there was no further occa-n for concern on that score. In the afternoon of his day in Springfield he came down to our office to mine some papers and confer with me about certain l matters in which he still felt some interest. On eral previous occasions he had told me he was coming r to the office "to have a long talk with me," as he

expressed it. We ran over the books and arranged
the completion of all unsettled and unfinished matters.
some cases he had certain requests to make—certain li
of procedure he wished me to observe. After these thi
were all disposed of he crossed to the opposite side
the room and threw himself down on the old office so
which, after many years of service, had been mo
against the wall for support. He lay for some mome
his face towards the ceiling, without either of us speaki
Presently he inquired, "Billy,"—he always called me
that name,—"how long have we been together?" "O
sixteen years," I answered. "We've never had a cr
word during all that time, have we?" to which I retur
a vehement, "No, indeed we have not." He then recal
some incidents of his early practice and took great pleas
in delineating the ludicrous features of many a lawsuit
the circuit. It was at this last interview in Springf
that he told me of the efforts that had been made by ot
lawyers to supplant me in the partnership with him.
insisted that such men were weak creatures, who, to
his own language, "hoped to secure a law practice
hanging to his coat-tail." I never saw him in a m
cheerful mood. He gathered a bundle of books and pap
he wished to take with him and started to go; but bef
leaving he made the strange request that the sign-bo
which swung on its rusty hinges at the foot of the st
way should remain. "Let it hang there undisturbed,"
said, with a significant lowering of his voice. "Give
clients to understand that the election of a President ma
no change in the firm of Lincoln and Herndon. If I
I'm coming back some time, and then we'll go right on p
ticing law as if nothing had ever happened." He linge
for a moment as if to take a last look at the old quart
and then passed through the door into the narrow hallv
I accompanied him downstairs. On the way he spok
the unpleasant features surrounding the Presidential of
"I am sick of office-holding already," he complained, '
I shudder when I think of the tasks that are still ahe
He said the sorrow of parting from his old associates

per than most persons would imagine, but it was more rked in his case because of the feeling which had be- ne irrepressible that he would never return alive. I rued against the thought, characterizing it as an illusory ion not in harmony or keeping with the popular ideal a President. "But it is in keeping with my philosophy," s his quick retort. Our conversation was frequently ken in upon by the interruptions of passers-by, who, h in succession, seemed desirous of claiming his atten- n. At length he broke away from them all. Grasping hand warmly and with a fervent "Good-bye," he dis- peared down the street, and never came back to the ce again.

n answer to the many inquiries made of me, I will say e that during this last interview Mr. Lincoln, for the t time, brought up the subject of an office under his ministration. He asked me if I desired an appointment his hands, and, if so, what I wanted. I answered that ad no desire for a Federal office, that I was then hold- the office of Bank Commissioner under appointment Governor Bissell, and that if he would request my re- tion in office by Yates, the incoming Governor, I should satisfied. He made the necessary recommendation, and vernor Yates complied. I was present at the meeting ween Yates and Lincoln, and I remember that the for- r, when Lincoln urged my claims for retention in office, ed Lincoln to appoint their mutual friend A. Y. Ellis tmaster at Springfield. I do not remember whether ncoln promised to do so or not, but Ellis was never pointed.[5]

"One incident attending this interview between Lincoln l Herndon," wrote Jesse W. Weik, "and which was nmunicated to me by the latter when I collaborated h him, has thus far not been told. Herndon, un- tunately, had a decided and well-developed weakness liquor, a habit which not only militated against his cess as a lawyer, but seriously impaired his usefulness other respects. The appetite which manifested itself

[5] Original footnote.

at an early day gradually increased, the so-called spre
occurring at more frequent intervals as the days rolled b
Herndon, in the account which he gave me of this perio
of his life, including the story of his deplorable and bib
lous habits, seemed to be anxious to reveal all the fac
Apparently he withheld nothing. In some respects it w
a painful recital, but, having told everything, he appear
to experience more or less relief, much after the mann
of the man who, being closeted with one of his close
friends, makes a clean breast of his delinquency. He a
mitted that his conduct frequently was an embarrassme
to Lincoln who was in every respect a total abstainer hi
self. 'But although I have nothing to add in extenuati
of my offense,' he said, 'I must insist that in his treatme
of me Mr. Lincoln was the most generous, forebearin
and charitable man I ever knew. Often though I yield
to temptation he invariably refrained from joining in t
popular denunciation which, though not unmerited, w
so frequently heaped upon me. He never chided, nev
censured, never criticized my conduct—more than th
never, save on one occasion, alluded to it. That was t
evening we were together in our office for the last tim
It was near sunset. We had finished the details of o
business and for a while were engaged in the exchange
reminiscences when suddenly, without rising from his se
he blurted out: "Billy, there's one thing I have, for so
time, wanted you to tell me, but I reckon I ought
apologize for my nerve and curiosity in asking it ev
now." "What is it?" I inquired. "I want you to tell m
he said, "how many times you have been drunk." It w
of course, a rather blunt inquiry, but unexpected thou
it was I realized that it came from an honest inquirer,
who had a right to the information, and I therefore
swered it as promptly and definitely as the limited sour
of knowledge at my command would warrant. Meanwh
I felt sure a lecture or moral admonition would follow
prepared myself accordingly, but much to my surpr
nothing more was said by him on the subject. Instead
relieved my tension by describing the various efforts t
had been made to induce him to drop me from the partn

p and substitute certain others, whom he named, all of ich was a surprise to me. He assured me that he invar- ly declined the intervention of others and admonished se who sought to displace me that, despite my short- nings, he believed in me and therefore would not desert .'"[6]

On the morning following this last interview, the 11th of February, the Presidential party repaired to the iway station, where the train which was to convey them Washington awaited the ceremony of departure. The ention was to stop at many of the principal cities along route, and plenty of time had been allotted for the rpose. Mr. Lincoln had told me that a man named ood had been recommended to him by Mr. Seward, and had been placed in charge of the party as a sort of gen- l manager. The party, besides the President, his wife, l three sons, Robert, William, and Thomas, consisted his brother-in-law, Dr. W. S. Wallace, David Davis, rman B. Judd, Elmer E. Ellsworth, Ward H. Lamon, l the President's two secretaries, John G. Nicolay and n Hay. Colonel E. V. Sumner and other army gen- nen were also in the car, and some friends of Mr. Lin- n—among them O. H. Browning, Governor Yates, and Governor Moore—started with the party from Spring- d, but dropped out at points along the way. The day s a stormy one, with dense clouds hanging heavily over- d. A goodly throng of Springfield people had gathered see the distinguished party safely off. After the latter l entered the car the people closed about it until the esident appeared on the rear platform. He stood for noment as if to suppress evidences of his emotion, and noving his hat made the following brief but dignified l touching address; "Friends: No one who has never n placed in a like position can understand my feelings his hour, nor the oppressive sadness I feel at this part- . For more than a quarter of a century I have lived ong you, and during all that time I have received noth-

[6] Weik, *The Real Lincoln*, pp. 300-02. This passage is quoted permission of and special arrangement with Houghton Mifflin npany, authorized publishers.

ing but kindness at your hands. Here I have lived fro
my youth until now I am an old man. Here the mo
sacred ties of earth were assumed. Here all my childr
were born; and here one of them lies buried. To yo
dear friends, I owe all that I have, all that I am. All t
strange, checkered past seems to crowd now upon r
mind. Today I leave you. I go to assume a task mo
difficult than that which devolved upon Washington. U
less the great God who assisted him shall be with and a
me, I must fail; but if the same omniscient mind and
mighty arm that directed and protected him shall guide a
support me I shall not fail—I shall succeed. Let us
pray that the God of our fathers may not forsake us no
To him I commend you all. Permit me to ask that wi
equal sincerity and faith you will invoke his wisdom a
guidance for me. With these words I must leave you, f
how long I know not. Friends, one and all, I must no
bid you an affectionate farewell."

I was not present when Mr. Lincoln delivered his fa
well at the depot at Springfield, and never heard what
said. I have adopted the version of his speech as pu
lished in our papers. There has been some controver
over the exact language he used on that occasion, and M
Nicolay has recently published the speech from what
says is the original MS., partly in his own and partly
the handwriting of Mr. Lincoln. Substantially, howev
it is like the speech as reproduced here from the Sprin
field paper.[7]

[7] Following is the Nicolay version to which Herndon refe

"My Friends: No one, not in my situation, can apprec
my feeling of sadness at this parting. To this place, and
kindness of these people, I owe everything. Here I have li
a quarter of a century, and have passed from a young to an
man. Here my children have been born, and one is buried.
now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may ret
with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Wa
ington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who e
attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I can
fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and remain w
you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope
all will yet be well. To His care commending you, as I hop

\t the conclusion of this neat and appropriate farewell train rolled slowly out, and Mr. Lincoln, still standing the doorway of the rear car, took his last view of ringfield. The journey had been as well advertised as ad been carefully planned, and therefore, at every town ng the route, and at every stop, great crowds were hered to catch a glimpse of the President-elect.[8] Mr. coln usually gratified the wishes of the crowds, who ed him out for a speech whether it was down on the

prayers you will commend me, I bid you an affectionate well."

The paragraph to which this note is appended and the one ch follows it were originally footnotes.

The following letter, used by Herndon as a footnote, explains coln's decision to grow a beard:

'Before Mr. Lincoln's election in 1860 I, then a child of en years, was presented with his lithograph. Admiring him my whole heart, I thought still his appearance would be h improved should he cultivate his whiskers. Childish thoughts t have utterance. So I proposed the idea to him, expressing vell as I was able the esteem in which he was held among st men. A few days after I received this kind and friendly r:

"'SPRINGFIELD, ILL., October 19, 1860.

'MISS GRACE BEDELL.

'MY DEAR LITTLE MISS:—Your very agreeable letter of the is received. I regret the necessity of saying I have no ghter. I have three sons—one seventeen, one nine, and one n. They with their mother constitute my whole family. As he whiskers, as I have never worn any, do you not think people would call it a piece of silly affectation were I to n wearing them now?

'I am your true friend and sincere well-wisher.

"'A. LINCOLN.'

It appears I was not forgotten, for after his election to the idency, while on his journey to Washington, the train stopped Vestfield, Chautauqua County, at which place I then resided. Lincoln said, 'I have a correspondent in this place, a little whose name is Grace Bedell, and I would like to see her.' as conveyed to him; he stepped from the cars, extending his and saying, 'You see I have let these whiskers grow for Grace,' kissed me, shook me cordially by the hand, and gone. I was frequently afterward assured of his remem-ce.'" Grace Bedell to Herndon, Dec. 14, 1866.

regular program of movements or not. In all cases h
remarks were well-timed and sensibly uttered. At I
dianapolis, where the Legislature was in session, he halt
for a day and delivered a speech the burden of which w
an answer to the Southern charges of coercion and i
vasion. From Indianapolis he moved on to Cincinnati a
Columbus, at the last-named place meeting the Legislatu
of Ohio. The remainder of the journey convinced M
Lincoln of his strength in the affections of the peop
Many, no doubt, were full of curiosity to see the no
famous rail-splitter, but all were outspoken and earnest
their assurances of support. At Steubenville, Pittsburg
Cleveland, Buffalo, Albany, New York, and Philadelph
he made manly and patriotic speeches. These speeche
plain in language and simple in illustration, made eve
man who heard them a stronger friend than ever of t
Government. He was skilful enough to warn the peop
of the danger ahead and to impress them with his abili
to deal properly with the situation, without in any ca
outlining his intended policy or revealing the forces
held in reserve. At Pittsburgh he advised deliberation a
begged the American people to keep their temper on bo
sides of the line. At Cleveland he insisted that "the cris
as it is called, is an artificial crisis and has no foundati
in fact;" and at Philadelphia he assured his listeners th
under his administration there would be "no bloodsh
unless it was forced upon the Government, and then
would be compelled to act in self-defense." This l
utterance was made in front of Independence Hall, whe
a few moments before, he had unfurled to the breeze
magnificent new flag, an impressive ceremony perform
amid the cheers swelling from the vast sea of upturn
faces before him. From Philadelphia his journey to
him to Harrisburg, where he visited both branches of
Legislature then in session. For an account of the
mainder of this now famous trip I beg to quote from
admirable narrative of Dr. Holland. Describing the w
come tendered him by the Legislature at Harrisburg,
latter says: "At the conclusion of the exercises of

Mr. Lincoln, who was known to be very weary, was mitted to pass undisturbed to his apartments in the es House. It was popularly understood that he was start for Washington the next morning, and the people Harrisburg supposed they had only taken a temporary ve of him. He remained in his rooms until nearly six lock, when he passed into the street, entered a carriage bserved in company with Colonel Lamon, and was ven to a special train on the Pennsylvania railroad in iting for him. As a matter of precaution the telegraph es were cut the moment he left Harrisburg, so that if departure should be discovered intelligence of it could be communicated at a distance. At half-past ten the in arrived at Philadelphia, and here Mr. Lincoln was t by a detective, who had a carriage in readiness in ich the party were driven to the depot of the Philadel-ia, Wilmington, and Baltimore railroad. At a quarter st eleven they arrived and very fortunately found the gular train, which should have left at eleven, delayed. e party took berths in the sleeping-car, and without nge of cars passed directly through Baltimore to Wash-ton, where Mr. Lincoln arrived at half-past six o'clock he morning and found Mr. Washburne anxiously await-him. He was taken into a carriage and in a few minutes was talking over his adventures with Senator Seward Willard's Hotel." The remaining members of the esidential party from whom Mr. Lincoln separated at rrisburg left that place on the special train intended for n; and as news of his safe arrival in Washington had en already telegraphed over the country no attempt was de to interrupt their safe passage through Baltimore. is now generally well known many threats had up to t time been made that Mr. Lincoln, on his way to shington, should never pass through Baltimore alive. was reported and believed that conspiracies had been med to attack the train, blow it up with explosives or some equally effective way dispose of the President-ct. Mr. Seward and others were so deeply impressed h the grave features of the reports afloat that Allan

Pinkerton, the noted detective of Chicago, was employe to investigate the matter and ferret out the conspiracy, any existed. This shrewd operator went to Baltimor opened an office as a stock-broker, and through his assis ants—the most adroit and serviceable of whom was woman—was soon in possession of inside informatio The change of plans and trains at Harrisburg was du to his management and advice. Some years before h death Mr. Pinkerton furnished me with a large volum of the written reports of his subordinates and an elabora account by himself of the conspiracy and the means employed to ferret it out. The narrative, thrilling enoug in some particulars, is too extended for insertion her It is enough for us to know that the tragedy was succes fully averted and that Mr. Lincoln was safely landed Washington.

In January preceding his departure from Springfie Mr. Lincoln, becoming somewhat annoyed, not to s alarmed, at the threats emanating from Baltimore a other portions of the country adjacent to Washingto that he should not reach the latter place alive, and th even if successful in reaching the Capital his inauguratio should in some way be prevented, determined to ascerta for himself what protection would be given him in ca an effort should be made by an individual or a mob to him violence. He sent a young military officer in the pe son of Thomas Mather, then Adjutant-General of Illino to Washington with a letter to General Scott, in which recounted the threats he had heard and ventured to i quire as to the probability of any attempt at his life bei made on the occasion of his inauguration. Gene Mather, on his arrival in Washington, found General Sc confined to his room by illness and unable to see visito On Mather calling a second time and sending in his let he was invited up to the sick man's chamber. "Enteri the room," related Mather in later years, "I found t old warrior, grizzly and wrinkled, propped up in the b by an embankment of pillows behind his back. His h and beard were considerably disordered, the flesh seem

lay in rolls across his warty face and neck, and his athing was not without great labor. In his hand he held Lincoln's letter. He was weak from long-con-ued illness, and trembled very perceptibly. It was evi-nt that the message from Lincoln had wrought up the veteran's feelings. 'General Mather,' he said to me, in at agitation, 'present my compliments to Mr. Lincoln en you return to Springfield, and tell him I expect him come on to Washington as soon as he is ready. Say him that I'll look after those Maryland and Virginia gers myself; I'll plant cannon at both ends of Pennsyl-nia Avenue, and if any of them show their heads or se a finger I'll blow them to hell.' On my return to ringfield," concludes Mather, "I hastened to assure Mr. ncoln that, if Scott were alive on the day of the inaugu-ion, there need be no alarm lest the performance be errupted by any one. I felt certain the hero of Lundy's ne would give the matter the care and attention it de-ved."

Having at last reached his destination in safety, Mr. ncoln spent the few days preceding his inauguration at llard's Hotel, receiving an uninterrupted stream of itors and friends. In the few unoccupied moments otted him, he was carefully revising his inaugural ad-ss. On the morning of the 4th of March he rode from hotel with Mr. Buchanan in an open barouche to the pitol. There, slightly pale and nervous, he was intro-ced to the assembled multitude by his old friend Edward Baker, and in a fervid and impressive manner delivered address. At its conclusion the customary oath was ninistered by the venerable Chief Justice Taney, and was now clothed with all the powers and privileges of ief Magistrate of the nation. He accompanied Mr. chanan to the White House and here the historic bache-of Lancaster bade him farewell, bespeaking for him a ceful, prosperous, and successful administration.

One who witnessed the impressive scene left the fol-ing graphic description of the inauguration and its ncipal incidents: "Near noon I found myself a member

of the motley crowd gathered about the side entrance
Willard's Hotel. Soon an open barouche drove up, a
the only occupant stepped out. A large, heavy, awkwa
moving man, far advanced in years, short and thin gr
hair, full face, plentifully seamed and wrinkled, head cu
ously inclined to the left shoulder, a low-crowned, bro
brimmed silk hat, an immense white cravat like a poulti
thrusting the old-fashioned standing collar up to the ea
dressed in black throughout, with swallow-tail coat not
the newest style. It was President Buchanan, calling
take his successor to the Capitol. In a few minutes
reappeared, with Mr. Lincoln on his arm; the two to
seats side-by-side, and the carriage rolled away, follow
by a rather disorderly and certainly not very imposi
procession. I had ample time to walk to the Capitol, a
no difficulty in securing a place where everything could
seen and heard to the best advantage. The attendance
the inauguration was, they told me, unusually small, ma
being kept away by anticipated disturbance, as it had b
rumored—truly, too—that General Scott himself was fe
ful of an outbreak, and had made all possible milit
preparations to meet the emergency. A square platfo
had been built out from the steps to the eastern porti
with benches for distinguished spectators on three sid
Douglas, the only one I recognized, sat at the extre
end of the seat on the right of the narrow passage lead
from the steps. There was no delay, and the gaunt fo
of the President-elect was soon visible, slowly making
way to the front. To me, at least, he was complet
metamorphosed—partly by his own fault, and pa
through the efforts of injudicious friends and ambiti
tailors. He was raising (to gratify a very young la
it is said) a crop of whiskers, of the blacking-brush
riety, coarse, stiff, and ungraceful; and in so doing spoi
or at least seriously impaired, a face which, though ne
handsome, had in its original state a peculiar power
pathos. On the present occasion the whiskers were r
forced by brand-new clothes from top to toe; black dr
coat, instead of the usual frock, black cloth or satin

ck pantaloons, and a glossy hat evidently just out of box. To cap the climax of novelty, he carried a huge ny cane, with a gold head the size of an egg. In these, him, strange habiliments, he looked so miserably unfortable that I could not help pitying him. Reaching platform, his discomfort was visibly increased by not owing what to do with hat and cane; and so he stood re, the target for ten thousand eyes, holding cane in hand and hat in the other, the very picture of helpless barrassment. After some hesitation he pushed the cane a corner of the railing, but could not find a place for hat except on the floor, where I could see he did not to risk it. Douglas, who fully took in the situation, ne to the rescue of his old friend and rival, and held the cious hat until the owner needed it again; a service ich, if predicted two years before, would probably have onished him. The oath of office was administered by ief Justice Taney, whose black robes, attenuated figure, l cadaverous countenance reminded me of a galvanized pse. Then the President came forward, and read his ugural address in a clear and distinct voice. It was attively listened to by all, but the closest listener was uglas, who leaned forward as if to catch every word, lding his head emphatically at those passages which st pleased him. There was some applause, not very ch nor very enthusiastic. I must not forget to mention presence of a Mephistopheles in the person of Senator gfall, of Texas, who stood with folded arms leaning inst the doorway of the Capitol, looking down upon crowd and the ceremony with a contemptuous air, ich sufficiently indicated his opinion of the whole permance. To him the Southern Confederacy was already accomplished fact. He lived to see it the saddest of ions."

CHAPTER SEVENTEE

LINCOLN, THE PRESIDENT, DID NOT DIFFER GREATLY FRO
Lincoln the lawyer and politician. In the latter capaci
only had his old friends in Illinois known him. For
long time after taking his seat they were curious to kno
what change, if any, his exalted station had made in hi
He was no longer amid people who had seen him gro
from the village lawyer to the highest rank in the lan
and whose hands he could grasp in the confidence of
time-tried friendship; but now he was surrounded
wealth, power, fashion, influence, by adroit politicians a
artful schemers of every sort. In the past his Illinois a
particularly his Springfield friends had shared the anxie
and responsibility of every step he made; but now th
were no longer to continue in the partnership. Many
them wanted no office, but all of them felt great inter
as well as pride in his future. A few attempted to keep
a correspondence with him, but his answers were tardy a
irregular. Because he did not appoint a goodly portion
his early associates to comfortable offices, and did
interest himself in the welfare of everyone whom he h
known in Illinois, or met while on the circuit, the erroneo
impression grew that his elevation had turned his he
There was no foundation for such an unwarranted co
clusion.

Lincoln, even after his elevation to the Presidency,
ways had an eye out for his friends, as the follow
letters will abundantly prove:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, April 20, 1864.
ALVIN TRUESDALE, ESQ.
"POSTMASTER, ROCK ISLAND, ILL.:
Thomas J. Pickett, late agent for the Quartermaster's De-rtment for the Island of Rock Island, has been removed or spended from that position on a charge of having sold timber l stone from the island for his private benefit. Mr. Pickett an old acquaintance and friend of mine, and I will thank u, if you will, to set a day or days and place on and at ich to take testimony on the point. Notify Mr. Pickett l one J. B. Danforth (who as I understand makes the arge) to be present with their witnesses. Take the testi-ny in writing offered by both sides, and report it in full me. Please do this for me.

"Yours truly,
"A. LINCOLN."

The man Pickett was formerly the editor of a news-per in northern Illinois, and had, to use an expression later days, inaugurated in the columns of his paper ncoln's boom for the Presidency. When he afterwards l under suspicion, no one came to his rescue sooner n the President himself.

The following letter needs no explanation:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, WASHINGTON, August 27, 1862.
ON. WASH. TALCOTT.
MY DEAR SIR:—I have determined to appoint you collec-. I now have a very special request to make of you, which that you will make no war upon Mr. Washburne, who is o my friend, and of longer standing than yourself. I will n be obliged if you can do something for him if occasion sents.

"Yours truly,
"A. LINCOLN."

Mr. Talcott, to whom it was addressed, was furnished etter of introduction by the President, as follows:

The Secretary of the Treasury and the Commissioner of ernal Revenue will please see Mr. Talcott, one of the best

men there is, and, if any difference, one they would like bet
than they do me.

"A. LINCOLN."

August 18, 1862.

Lincoln had not changed a particle. He was overr
with cares; his surroundings were different and his frier
were new, but he himself was the same calm, just, a
devoted friend as of yore. His letters were few and bri
but they showed no lack of gratitude or appreciation,
the following one to me will testify:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, February 3, 1862

"DEAR WILLIAM:—

"Yours of January 30th is just received. Do just as y
say about the money matters. As you well know, I have
time enough to write a letter of respectable length. God bl
you, says

"Your friend,

"A. LINCOLN."

His letters to others were of the same warm and g
erous tenor, but yet the foolish notion prevailed that
had learned to disregard the condition and claims of
Springfield friends. One of the latter who visited Wa
ington returned somewhat displeased because Mr. L
coln failed to inquire after the health and welfare of e
one of his old neighbors. The report spread that he ca
nothing for his home or the friends who had made h
what he was. Those who entertained this opinion of
man forgot that he was not exactly the property of Spri
field and Illinois, but the President of all the States
the Union.

The following letter from a disappointed Illinois fri
will serve to illustrate the perplexities that beset Lincol

[1] Herndon originally used the letters to Truesdale and Ta
as a footnote.

[2] In a footnote to this letter Herndon printed the follo
telegram, dispatched to him by Lincoln on February 19, 186
"Would you accept a job of about a month's duration, at
Louis, $5 a day and mileage? Answer. A. Lincoln."

posing of the claims of personal friendship. It was itten by a man of no inconsiderable reputation in Illi- s, where he at one time filled a State office: "Lincoln singular man, and I must confess I never knew him. has for twenty years past used me as a plaything to omplish his own ends; but the moment he was elevated his proud position he seems all at once to have entirely anged his whole nature and become altogether a new ng. He knows no one, and the road to his favor is ays open to his enemies, while the door is hermetically led to his old friends." [a]

In this connection it may not be out of order to refer efly to the settlement by Mr. Lincoln of the claims his ding Illinois friends had on him. As before observed own election to the Presidency canceled Illinois as a tor in the cabinet problem, but in no wise disposed of friends whom the public expected and whom he him- f intended should be provided for. Of these latter the est and most zealous and effective was David Davis. ("I d done Lincoln many, many favors, had electioneered him, spent my money for him, worked and toiled for n," said Davis in 1866.) It is not extravagance, taking ir long association together in mind, to say that Davis d done more for Lincoln than any dozen other friends had. Of course, after Lincoln was securely installed in ce, the people, especially in Illinois, awaited his recog- ion of Davis. What was finally done is minutely told a letter by Leonard Swett, which it is proper here to ert:

"CHICAGO, ILL., August 29, 1887.

ILLIAM H. HERNDON.

MY DEAR SIR:—Your inquiry in reference to the circum- nces of the appointment of David Davis as one of the tices of the Supreme Court reached me last evening. In y I beg leave to recall the fact, that in 1860 the politicians Illinois were divided into three divisions, which were resented in the Decatur convention by the votes on the

[a] This paragraph, and the statement of Davis in the following were originally footnotes.

nomination for Governor. The largest vote was for Norm
B. Judd, of Chicago, his strength in the main being the nort
ern part of the State. I was next in order of strength, a
Richard Yates the third, but the divisions were not materia
unequal. The result was Yates was nominated, his streng
being about Springfield and Jacksonville, extending to Quin
on the west, and mine was at Bloomington and vicinity a
south and southeast.

"These divisions were kept up a while after Mr. Lincol
election, and were considered in the distribution of Fede
patronage. A vacancy in the United States Senate occurr
early in 1861 by the death of Stephen A. Douglas, a
Governor Yates appointed Orville H. Browning, of Quincy,
fill the vacancy. There was also a vacancy upon the S
preme Bench of the United States to be filled from this gene
vicinity by Mr. Lincoln in the early part of his administrati
and Judge Davis, of Bloomington, and Mr. Browning,
Quincy, were aspirants for the position. Mr. Browning h
the advantage that Lincoln was new in his seat, and Se
ators were august personages; and, being in the Senate and
most courteous and able gentleman, Mr. Browning succeed
in securing nearly all the senatorial strength, and Mr. Linc
was nearly swept off his feet by the current of influen
Davis' supporters were the circuit lawyers mainly in the ea
ern and central part of the State. These lawyers were
home, and their presence was not a living force felt constan
by the President at Washington.

"I was then living at Bloomington, and met Judge Da
every day. As months elapsed we used to get word fr
Washington in reference to the condition of things; final
one day the word came that Lincoln had said, 'I do not kn
what I may do when the time comes, but there has never be
a day when if I had to act I should not have appointed Brow
ing.' Judge Davis, General Orme, and myself held a consul
tion in my law-office at Bloomington. We decided that
remark was too Lincolnian to be mistaken and no man but
could have put the situation so quaintly. We decided also t
the appointment was gone, and sat there glum over the sit
tion. I finally broke the silence, saying in substance, 'T
appointment is gone and I am going to pack my carpet-s
for Washington.' 'No, you are not,' said Davis. 'Yes, I a
was my reply. 'Lincoln is being swept off his feet by the

ence of these Senators, and I will have the luxury of one re talk with him before he acts.'

I did go home, and two days thereafter, in the morning ut seven o'clock—for I knew Mr. Lincoln's habits well— s at the White House and spent most of the forenoon with n. I tried to impress upon him that he had been brought o prominence by the Circuit Court lawyers of the old eighth cuit, headed by Judge Davis. 'If,' I said, 'Judge Davis, h his tact and force, had not lived, and all other things had n as they were, I believe you would not now be sitting ere you are.' He replied gravely, 'Yes, that is so.' 'Now s a common law of mankind,' said I, 'that one raised into minence is expected to recognize the force that lifts him, if from a pinch, the force that lets him out. The Czar cholas was once attacked by an assassin; a kindly hand rded off the blow and saved his life. The Czar hunted out owner of that hand and strewed his pathway with flowers ough life. The Emperor Napoleon III has hunted out rybody who even tossed him a biscuit in his prison at Ham l has made him rich. Here is Judge Davis, whom you w to be in every respect qualified for this position, and ought in justice to yourself and public expectation to give n this place.' We had an earnest pleasant forenoon, and I ught I had the best of the argument, and I think he thought too.

I left him and went to Willard's Hotel to think over the rview, and there a new thought struck me. I therefore te a letter to Mr. Lincoln and returned to the White use. Getting in, I read it to him and left it with him. It s, in substance, that he might think if he gave Davis this ce the latter when he got to Washington would not give n any peace until he gave me a place equally as good; that ecognized the fact that he could not give this place to vis, which would be charged to the Bloomington faction our State politics, and then give me anything I would have be just to the party there; that this appointment, if made, uld kill 'two birds with one stone'; that I would accept it ne-half for me and one-half for the Judge; and that there- r, if I or any of my friends ever troubled him, he could w that letter as a plea in bar on that subject. As I read incoln said, 'If you mean that among friends as it reads I take it and make the appointment.' He at once did as said.

"He then made a request of the Judge after his appoi
ment in reference to a clerk in his circuit, and wrote him
notice of the appointment, which Davis received the same
ternoon I returned to Bloomington.

"Judge Davis was about fifteen years my senior. I h
come to his circuit at the age of twenty-four, and betwe
him and Lincoln I had grown up leaning in hours of wea
ness on their own great arms for support. I was glad of
opportunity to put in the mite of my claims upon Lincoln a
give it to Davis, and have been glad I did it every day sin

"An unknown number of people have almost every we
since, speaking perhaps extravagantly, asked me in a qua
confidential manner. 'How was it that you and Lincoln w
so intimate and he never gave you anything?' I have genera
said, 'It seems to me that is my question, and so long as
don't complain I do not see why you should.' I may be p
doned also for saying that I have not considerd every m
not holding an office out of place in life. I got my eyes op
on this subject before I got an office, and as in Washingto
saw the Congressman in decline I prayed that my latter e
might not be like his.

"Yours truly,

"LEONARD SWETT."

Before his departure for Washington, Mr. Lincoln h
on several occasions referred in my presence to the grav
of the national questions that stared him in the face;
from what he said I caught no definite idea of what
intentions were. He told me he would rely upon me
keep him informed of the situation about home, what
friends were saying of him, and whether his course w
meeting with their approval. He suggested that I sho
write him frequently, and that arrangements would
made with his private secretary, Mr. Nicolay, that my
ters should pass through the latter's hands unopened. T
plan was adhered to, and I have every reason now to
lieve that all my letters to Lincoln, although they contai
no great secrets of state, passed unread into his hands.
was what the newspaper men would call a "frequent c
tributor." I wrote oftener than he answered, sometim
remitting him his share of old fees, sometimes dilating

ional affairs, but generally confining myself to local
itics and news in and around Springfield. I remember
writing him two copious letters, one on the necessity
keeping up the draft, the other admonishing him to
ten his Proclamation of Emancipation. In the latter
vas especially fervid, assuring him, if he emancipated
slaves, he could "go down on the other side of life
ed with the consciousness of duty well done, and along
athway blazing with eternal glory." How my rhetoric
sentiments struck him I never learned, for in the rush
executive business he never responded to either of the
ers. Late in the summer of 1861, as elsewhere men-
ied in these chapters, I made my first and only visit
Washington while he was President. My mission was
ended to promote the prospects of a brother-in-law,
arles W. Chatterton, who desired to lay claim to an
ce in the Bureau of Indian Affairs. Mr. Lincoln ac-
npanied me to the office of the Commissioner of Indian
fairs,—William P. Dole of Paris, Illinois,—told a good
ry, and made the request which secured the coveted
ce—an Indian agency—in an amazingly short time.
is was one of the few favors I asked of Mr. Lincoln,
l he granted it "speedily—without delay; freely—with-
purchase; and fully—without denial." I remained in
ashington for several days after this, and, notwith-
nding the pressure of business, he made me spend a
od portion of the time at the White House. One thing
could scarcely cease from referring to was the per-
ence of the office-seekers. They slipped in, he said,
ough the half-opened doors of the Executive Mansion;
y dogged his steps if he walked; they edged their way
ough the crowds and thrust their papers in his hands
en he rode;[4] and, taking it all in all, they well-nigh

[4] In a footnote Herndon incorporated Lincoln's account of an eme incident: "He said that one day, as he was passing n Pennsylvania Avenue, a man came running after him, hailed , and thrust a bundle of papers in his hands. It angered not a little, and he pitched the papers back, saying, 'I'm going to open shop here'."

worried him to death. He said that, if the Governm
passed through the Rebellion without dismemberme
there was the strongest danger of its falling a prey to
rapacity of the office-seeking class. "This human strug
and scramble for office," were his words, "for a way
live without work, will finally test the strength of
institutions." A good part of the day during my s
I would spend with him in his office or waiting-room.
saw the endless line of callers, and met the scores
dignitaries one usually meets at the White House, e
now; but nothing took place worthy of special ment
here. One day Horace Maynard and Andrew Johns
both senators from Tennessee, came in arm-in-arm. T
declined to sit down, but at once set to work to disc
with the President his recent action in some case in wh
they were interested. Maynard seemed very earnest
what he said. "Beware, Mr. President," he said, "and
not go too fast. There is danger ahead." "I know tha
responded Lincoln, good-naturedly, "but I shall go just
fast and only so fast as I think I'm right and the pe
are ready for the step." Hardly half-a-dozen words
lowed, when the pair wheeled around and walked aw
The day following I left Washington for home. I se
rated from Mr. Lincoln at the White house. He follo
me to the rear portico, where I entered the carriage to
to the railroad depot. He grasped me warmly by the h
and bade me a fervent "Good-bye." It was the last t
I ever saw him alive.

Mrs. Ninian Edwards, who, it will be remembered,
the sister of Mrs. Lincoln, some time before her d
furnished me an account of her visit to Washington, s
of the incidents of which are so characteristic that I ca
refrain from giving them room here. This lady, wit
endeavoring to suppress mention of her sister's m
caprices and eccentricities while mistress of the W
House, remarked that, having been often solicited by
Lincolns to visit them, she and her husband, in answe
the cordial invitation, at last made the journey to W
ington. "One day while there," she relates, "in orde

n his mind, to turn his attention away from business
cheer him up, I took Mr. Lincoln down through the
servatory belonging to the Executive Mansion, and
wed him the world of flowers represented there. He
lowed me patiently through. 'How beautiful these
vers are! how gorgeous these roses! Here are exotics,'
xclaimed, in admiration, 'gathered from the remotest
ners of the earth, and grand beyond description.' A
ody silence followed, broken finally by Mr. Lincoln with
observation: 'Yes, this whole thing looks like spring;
do you know I have never been in here before. I
't know why it is so, but I never cared for flowers; I
m to have no taste, natural or acquired, for such things.'
nduced him one day," continued Mrs. Edwards, "to
lk to the Park north of the White House. He hadn't
n there, he said, for a year. On such occasions, when
ne or in the company of a close friend, and released
m the restraint of his official surroundings, he was
nt to throw from his shoulders many a burden. He
s a man I loved and respected. He was a good man,
honest and true one. Much of his seeming disregard,
ich has been tortured into ingratitude, was due to his
uliar construction. His habits, like himself, were odd
wholly irregular. He would move around in a vague,
tracted way, as if unconscious of his own or anyone
e's existence. He had no expressed fondness for any-
ng, and ate mechanically. I have seen him sit down
the table absorbed in thought, and never, unless re-
ed to his senses, would he think of food. But, how-
r peculiar and secretive he may have seemed, he was
thing but cold. Beneath what the world saw lurked
ature as tender and poetic as any I ever knew. The
th of his son Willie, which occurred in Washington,
de a deep impression on him. It was the first death in
family, save an infant who died a few days after its
h in Springfield. On the evening we strolled through
Park he spoke of it with deep feeling, and he fre-
ntly afterward referred to it. When I announced my
ntion of leaving Washington he was much affected

at the news of my departure. We were strolling throu the White House grounds, when he begged me with te in his eyes to remain longer. 'You have such strong c trol and such an influence over Mary,' he contended, 't when troubles come you can console me.' The picture the man's despair never faded from my vision. Long ter my return to Springfield, on reverting to the sad se ration, my heart ached because I was unable in my fee way to lighten his burden."

In the summer of 1866 I wrote to Mrs. Lincoln, t in Chicago, asking for a brief account of her own and husband's life or mode of living while at the White Hou She responded as follows:

"375 West Washington Street,
CHICAGO, ILL., August 28, 186

"HON. WM. H. HERNDON.

"MY DEAR SIR:—Owing to Robert's absence from Chic your last letter to him was only shown me last evening. recollection of my beloved husband's truly affectionate reg for you, and the knowledge of your great love and revere for the best man that ever lived, would of itself cause yo be cherished with the sincerest regard by my sons and my In my overwhelming bereavement those who loved my idol husband aside from disinterested motives are very prec to me and mine. My grief has been so uncontrollable t in consequence, I have been obliged to bury myself in solit knowing that many whom I would see could not fully e into the state of my feelings. I have been thinking for s time past I would like to see you and have a long conversa I wish to know if you will be in Springfield next Wedne week, September 4; if so, at ten o'clock in the morning will find me at the St. Nicholas Hotel. Please mention visit to Springfield to no one. It is a most sacred on you may suppose, to visit the tomb which contains my a life—my husband. . . . If it will not be convenient, c business at the time specified should require your abs should you visit Chicago any day this week I will be pl to see you. I remain,

"Very truly,
"MARY LINCOL

met Mrs. Lincoln at the hotel in Springfield accord- to appointment. Our interview was somewhat ex- ied in range, but none the less interesting. Her state- it made at the time now lies before me. "My husband nded," she said, "when he was through with his Presi- tial term, to take me and our boys with him to Europe. er his return from Europe he intended to cross the ky Mountains and go to California, where the sol- s were to be digging out gold to pay the national debt. ring his last days he and Senator Sumner became great nds, and were closely attached to each other. They e down the river after Richmond was taken—were full joy and gladness at the thought of the war being over. to 1864 Mr. Lincoln wanted to live in Springfield, if he died be buried there also; but after that and a short time before his death he changed his mind htly, but never really settled on any particular place. last time I remember of his referring to the matter he he thought it would be good for himself and me to nd a year or more travelling. As to his nature, he was kindest man, most tender husband, and loving father he world. He gave us all unbounded liberty, saying ne always when I asked for anything, 'You know what want, go and get it,' and never asking if it were neces- . He was very indulgent to his children. He never lected to praise them for any of their good acts. He n said, 'It is my pleasure that my children are free happy, and unrestrained by parental tyranny. Love ne chain whereby to bind a child to its parents.'

My husband placed great reliance on my knowledge of an nature, often telling me, when about to make some ortant appointment, that he had no knowledge of men their motives. It was his intention to remove Seward on as peace with the South was declared. He greatly ked Andrew Johnson. Once the latter, when we were mpany, followed us around not a little. It displeased Lincoln so much he turned abruptly and asked, loud gh to be heard by others, 'Why is this man forever ewing me?' At another time, when we were down at

City Point, Johnson, still following us, was drunk. M
Lincoln in desperation exclaimed, 'For God's sake do
ask Johnson to dine with us.' Sumner, who was alo
joined in the request. Mr. Lincoln was mild in his ma
ners, but he was a terribly firm man when he set his f
down. None of us, no man or woman, could rule h
after he had once fully made up his mind. I could alwa
tell when in deciding anything he had reached the ultin
tum. At first he was very cheerful, then he lapsed i
thoughtfulness, bringing his lips together in a firm co
pression. When these symptoms developed I fashio
myself accordingly, and so did all others have to do soo
or later. When we first went to Washington many thou
Mr. Lincoln was weak, but he rose grandly with the c
cumstances. I told him once of the assertion I had hea
coming from the friends of Seward, that the latter w
the power behind the throne; that he could rule him.
replied, 'I may not rule myself, but certainly Seward sh
not. The only ruler I have is my conscience—follow
God in it—and these men will have to learn that yet.'

"Some of the newspaper attacks on him gave him gr
pain. I sometimes read them to him, but he would
me to desist, saying, 'I have enough to bear now, but
I care nothing for them. If I'm right I'll live, and
wrong I'll die anyhow; so let them fight at me un
strained.' My playful response would be, 'The way
learn is to hear both sides.' I once assured him Ch
and certain others who were scheming to supplant
ought to be restrained in their evil designs. 'Do good
them who hate you,' was his generous answer, 'and t
their ill-will into friendship.'

"I often told Mr. Lincoln that God would not let
harm come of him. We had passed through four l
years—terrible and bloody years—unscathed, and I
lieved we would be released from all danger. He gra
ally grew into that belief himself, and the old gloomy
tion of his unavoidable taking-off was becoming dim
as time passed away. Cheerfulness merged into joy
ness. The skies cleared, the end of the war rose di

view when the great blow came and shut him out for-
."

r a glimpse of Lincoln's habits while a resident of
hington and an executive officer, there is no better
rity than John Hay, who served as one of his secre-
s. In 1866, Mr. Hay, then a member of the United
s Legation in Paris, wrote me an interesting account,
h so faithfully delineates Lincoln in his public home
I cannot refrain from quoting it entire. Although the
was written in answer to a list of questions I asked,
was prepared without any attempt at arrangement, still
none the less interesting. "Lincoln went to bed ordi-
y," it begins, "from ten to eleven o'clock, unless he
ened to be kept up by important news, in which case
ould frequently remain at the War Department till
or two. He rose early. When he lived in the coun-
t the Soldiers' Home he would be up and dressed,
is breakfast (which was extremely frugal, an egg,
ce of toast, coffee, etc.), and ride into Washington,
fore eight o'clock. In the winter, at the White House,
as not quite so early. He did not sleep well, but spent
od while in bed. 'Tad' usually slept with him. He
d lie around the office until he fell asleep, and Lincoln
d shoulder him and take him off to bed. He pre-
ed to begin business at ten o'clock in the morning, but
ality the ante-rooms and halls were full long before
hour—people anxious to get the first axe ground. He
extremely unmethodical; it was a four years' struggle
Nicolay's part and mine to get him to adopt some sys-
tic rules. He would break through every regulation
st as it was made. Anything that kept the people
selves away from him he disapproved, although they
y annoyed the life out of him by unreasonable com-
ts and requests. He wrote very few letters, and did
read one in fifty that he received. At first we tried
ing them to his notice, but at last he gave the whole
over to me, and signed, without reading them, the
s I wrote in his name. He wrote perhaps half-a-
a week himself—not more. Nicolay received mem-

bers of Congress and other visitors who had business
the Executive office, communicated to the Senate
House the messages of the President, and exercised a
eral supervision over the business. I opened and rea
letters, answered them, looked over the newspapers, s
vised the clerks who kept the records, and in Nic
absence did his work also. When the President had
rather delicate matter to manage at a distance from W
ington he rarely wrote, but sent Nicolay or me. The E
remained full of people nearly all day. At noon the
ident took a little lunch—a biscuit, a glass of milk in
ter, some fruit or grapes in summer. He dined bet
five and six, and we went off to our dinner also. B
dinner was over, members and Senators would come
and take up the whole evening. Sometimes, though r
he shut himself up and would see no one. Sometim
would run away to a lecture, or concert, or theatre fo
sake of a little rest. He was very abstemious—at
than any man I know. He drank nothing but wate
from principle but because he did not like wine or s
Once, in rather dark days early in the war, a tempe
committee came to him and said that the reason w
not win was because our army drank so much whis
to bring the curse of the Lord upon them. He said i
rather unfair on the part of the aforesaid curse, a
other side drank more and worse whisky than our
He read very little. He scarcely ever looked into a
paper unless I called his attention to an article on
special subject. He frequently said, 'I know more
it than any of them.' It is absurd to call him a m
man. No great man was ever modest. It was his in
tual arrogance and unconscious assumption of supe
that men like Chase and Sumner never could forgi
believe that Lincoln is well understood by the peopl
there is a patent-leather, kid-glove set who know no
of him than an owl does of a comet blazing into his
ing eyes. Their estimates of him are in many cas
graceful exhibitions of ignorance and prejudice.
effeminate natures shrink instinctively from the c

a great reality like Lincoln's character. I consider ncoln republicanism incarnate—with all its faults and its virtues. As, in spite of some rudeness, republican- n is the sole hope of a sick world, so Lincoln, with all s foibles, is the greatest character since Christ."

Bancroft's eulogy on Lincoln never pleased the latter's e-long friends—those who knew him so thoroughly and ll. February 16, 1866, David Davis, who had heard wrote me: "You will see Mr. Bancroft's oration before s reaches you. It is able, but Mr. Lincoln is in the ckground. His analysis of Mr. Lincoln's character is perficial. It did not please me. How did it satisfy you?" the 22d he again wrote: "Mr. Bancroft totally mis- nceived Mr. Lincoln's character in applying 'unsteadi- ss' and confusion to it. Mr. Lincoln grew more steady d resolute, and his ideas were never confused. If there ere any changes in him after he got here they were for e better. I thought him always master of his subject. e was a much more self-possessed man than I thought. e *thought* for himself, which is a rare quality nowadays. ow could Bancroft know anything about Lincoln except he judged of him as the public do? He never saw m, and is himself as cold as an icicle. I should never ve selected an old Democratic politician, and that one om Massachusetts, to deliver an eulogy on Lincoln." [5]

In 1863 Mr. Lincoln was informed one morning that ong the visitors in the ante-room of the White House s a man who claimed to be his relative. He walked t and was surprised to find his boyhood friend and usin, Dennis Hanks. The latter had come to see his tinguished relative on a rather strange mission. A num- r of persons living in Coles County, in Illinois, offended the presence and conduct of a few soldiers who were at me from the war on furlough at the town of Charleston, d brought about a riot, in which encounter several of the ter had been killed. Several of the civilian participants o had acted as leaders in the strife had been arrested and t to Fort McHenry or some other place of confinement

[5] Original footnote.

equally as far from their homes. The leading law
and politicians of central Illinois were appealed to, but
and all others who had tried their hands had been sig
unsuccessful in their efforts to secure the release of
prisoners. Meanwhile some one of a sentimental turn
conceived the idea of sending garrulous old Dennis H
to Washington, fondly believing that his relationship to
President might in this last extremity be of some a
The novelty of the project secured its adoption by the
oners' friends, and Dennis, arrayed in a suit of new clo
set out for the national capital. I have heard him des
this visit very minutely. How his appearance in W
ington and his mission struck Mr. Lincoln can onl
imagined. The President, after listening to him and le
ing the purpose of his visit, retired to an adjoining r
and returned with an extremely large roll of pa
labelled, "The Charleston Riot Case," which he care
untied and gravely directed his now diplomatic cousi
read. Subsequently, and as if to continue the joke, he
him down to confer with the Secretary of War. He
returned from the latter's office with the report tha
head of the War Department could not be found; and i
well enough that he did not meet that abrupt and o
times demonstrative official. In the course of time,
ever, the latter happened in at the Executive Mansion
there, in the presence of Dennis, the President soug
reopen the now noted Charleston case. Adopting
Hanks' version, the Secretary, with his characteristic p
ness of speech, referring to the prisoners, declared
"every d——d one of them should be hung." Ever
humane and kindly inquiry of the President, "If these
should return home and become good citizens, who w
be hurt?" failed to convince the distinguished Secr
that the public good could be promoted by so doing.
President not feeling willing to override the judgme
his War Secretary in this instance, further consider
of the case ceased, and his cousin returned to his ho
Illinois with his mission unaccomplished.

(The subsequent history of these riot cases I beli

t the prisoners were returned to Illinois to be tried in
State Courts there; and that by successive changes
venue and continuances the cases were finally worn out.)
Dennis retained a rather unfavorable impression of Mr.
nton, whom he described as a "frisky little Yankee with
hort coat-tail." "I asked Abe," he said to me once,
hy he didn't kick him out. I told him he was too fresh
gether." Lincoln's answer was, "If I did, Dennis,
would be difficult to find another man to fill his place."
e President's cousin [6] sat in the office during the endless
erviews that take place between the head of the nation and
latter's loyal subjects. He saw modesty and obscurity
ngling with the arrogance of pride and distinction. One
an attractive and handsomely dressed woman called to
cure the release from prison of a relative in whom she
fessed the deepest interest. She was a good talker, and
winning ways seemed to be making a deep impression
the President. After listening to her story he wrote a
lines on a card, enclosing it in an envelope and direct-
her to take it to the Secretary of War. Before sealing
he showed it to Dennis. It read: "This woman, dear
nton, is a little smarter than she looks to be." She had,
man-like, evidently overstated her case. Before night
other woman called, more humble in appearance, more
inly clad. It was the old story. Father and son both
the army, the former in prison. Could not the latter be
charged from the army and sent home to help his
ther? A few strokes of the pen, a gentle nod of the
d, and the little woman, her eyes filling with tears and
pressing a grateful acknowledgment her tongue could
utter, passed out.

[6] "During this visit," said Herndon in a footnote, "Mr. Lincoln
sented Dennis with a silver watch, which the latter still re-
s as a memento alike of the donor and his trip to Washington."

CHAPTER EIGHTEE

BEFORE PASSING TO A BRIEF AND CONDENSED VIEW OF
great panorama of the war it will interest the reader
no doubt aid him greatly in drawing the portrait of Lin
to call up for the purpose two friends of his, whose t
mony is not only vivid and minute, but for certain rea
unusually appropriate and essential. The two were
voted and trusted friends of Lincoln; and while ne
held office under him, both were offered and both dec
the same. That of itself ought not to be considere
affecting or strengthening their statements, and ye
sometimes think that friends who are strong enough t
us, and yet declining our aid, take care of themselves
brave enough to tell us the truth. The two friend
Lincoln here referred to are Joshua F. Speed and Lec
Swett. In quoting them I adhere strictly to their wr
statements now in my possession. The former, under
of December 6, 1866, says: "Mr. Lincoln was so u
all the men I had ever known before or seen or k
since that there is no one to whom I can compare him
all his habits of eating, sleeping, reading, convers
and study he was, if I may so express it, regularly i
ular; that is, he had no stated time for eating, no
time for going to bed, none for getting up. No cour
reading was chalked out. He read law, history, philos
or poetry; Burns, Byron, Milton, or Shakespeare an
newspapers, retaining them all about as well as an ord
man would any one of them who made only one at a
his study. I once remarked to him that his mind
wonder to me; that impressions were easily made up
and never effaced. 'No,' said he, 'you are mistak

n slow to learn, and slow to forget that which I have arned. My mind is like a piece of steel—very hard to ratch anything on it, and almost impossible after you get there to rub it out.' I give this as his own illustration of e character of his mental faculties; it is as good as any have seen from anyone.

"The beauty of his character was its entire simplicity. e had no affectation in anything. True to nature, true to mself, he was true to everybody and everything around m. When he was ignorant on any subject, no matter w simple it might make him appear, he was always will- g to acknowledge it. His whole aim in life was to be ue to himself and being true to himself he could be false no one.

"He had no vices, even as a young man. Intense thought ith him was the rule and not, as with most of us, the ception. He often said that he could think better after eakfast, and better walking than sitting, lying, or stand- g. His world-wide reputation for telling anecdotes and lling them so well was in my judgment necessary to his ry existence. Most men who have been great students, ch as he was, in their hours of idleness have taken to e bottle, to cards or dice. He had no fondness for any these. Hence he sought relaxation in anecdotes. So r as I now remember of his study for composition, it was make short sentences and a compact style. Illustrative this it might be well to state that he was a great mirer of the style of John C. Calhoun. I remember ading to him one of Mr. Calhoun's speeches in reply Mr. Clay in the Senate, in which Mr. Clay had quoted ecedent. Mr. Calhoun replied (I quote from memory) at 'to legislate upon precedent is but to make the error yesterday the law of today.' Lincoln thought that was great truth and grandly uttered.

"Unlike all other men, there was entire harmony be- een his public and private life. He must believe he was ht, and that he had truth and justice with him, or he s a weak man; but no man could be stronger if he ought he was right.

"His familiar conversations were like his speeches
letters in this: that while no set speech of his (save
Gettysburg address) will be considered as entirely art
and complete, yet, when the gems of American litera
come to be selected, as many will be culled from Linc
speeches as from any American orator. So of his con
sation, and so of his private correspondence; all abo
in gems.

"My own connection or relation with Mr. Lincoln
ing the war has so often been commented on, and its
tent so often enlarged upon, I feel impelled to state
during his whole administration he never requested m
do anything, except in my own State, and never muc
that except to advise him as to what measures and p
would be most conducive to the growth of a healthy U
sentiment.

"My own opinion of the history of the Emancipa
Proclamation is that Mr. Lincoln foresaw the necessity
it long before he issued it. He was anxious to avoid it,
came to it only when he saw that the measure would
tract from its labor, and add to our army quite a nu
of good fighting men. I have heard of the charge of
plicity against him by certain Western members of
gress. I never believed the charge, because he has
me from his own lips that the charge was false. I,
knew him so well, could never after that credit the re
At first I was opposed to the Proclamation, and so told
I remember well our conversation on the subject.
seemed to treat it as certain that I would recogniz
wisdom of the act when I should see the harvest of
which we would ere long glean from it. In that
versation he alluded to an incident in his life, long pa
when he was so much depressed that he almost con
plated suicide. At the time of his deep depression he
to me that he had 'done nothing to make any human
remember that he had lived,' and that to connect his
with the events transpiring in his day and generation
so impress himself upon them as to link his name
something that would redound to the interest of his f

an, was what he desired to live for. He reminded me of at conversation, and said with earnest emphasis, 'I believe at in this measure [meaning his Proclamation] my fond- t hope will be realized.' Over twenty years had passed etween the two conversations.

"The last interview but one I had with him was about n days prior to his last inauguration. Congress was awing to a close; it had been an important session; much tention had to be given to the important bills he was gning; a great war was upon him and the country; visi- rs were coming and going to the President with their rying complaints and grievances from morning till night ith almost as much regularity as the ebb and flow of the de; and he was worn down in health and spirits. On is occasion I was sent for, to come and see him. In- ructions were given that when I came I should be ad- itted. When I entered his office it was quite full, and any more—among them not a few Senators and members f Congress—still waiting. As soon as I was fairly inside, e President remarked that he desired to see me as soon s he was through giving audiences, and that if I had othing to do I could take the papers and amuse myself that or any other way I saw fit till he was ready. In the om, when I entered, I observed sitting near the fireplace, essed in humble attire, two ladies modestly waiting their rn. One after another of the visitors came and went, ch bent on his own particular errand, some satisfied and hers evidently displeased at the result of their mission. he hour had arrived to close the door against all further llers. No one was left in the room now except the Presi- nt, the two ladies, and me. With a rather peevish and etful air he turned to them and said, 'Well, ladies, what n I do for you?' They both commenced to speak at once. rom what they said he soon learned that one was the wife d the other the mother of two men imprisoned for re- sting the draft in western Pennsylvania. 'Stop,' said he, on't say any more. Give me your petition.' The old lady sponded, 'Mr. Lincoln, we've got no petition; we uldn't write one and had no money to pay for writing

one, and I thought best to come and see you.' 'Oh,' he, 'I understand your cases.' He rang his bell and ord one of the messengers to tell General Dana to bring the names of all the men in prison for resisting the d in western Pennsylvania. The General soon came the list. He inquired if there was any difference in charges or degrees of guilt. The General replied tha knew of none. 'Well, then,' said he, 'these fellows suffered long enough, and I have thought so for s time, and now that my mind is on the subject I belie will turn out the whole flock. So, draw up the order, eral, and I will sign it.' It was done and the General the room. Turning to the women he said, 'Now, la you can go.' The younger of the two ran forward and in the act of kneeling in thankfulness. 'Get up,' he 'don't kneel to me, but thank God and go.' The old now came forward with tears in her eyes to express gratitude. 'Good-bye, Mr. Lincoln,' said she; 'I probably never see you again till we meet in heaven.' T were her exact words. She had the President's han hers, and he was deeply moved. He instantly took right hand in both of his and, following her to the said, 'I am afraid with all my troubles I shall never g the resting-place you speak of; but if I do I am sure I find you. That you wish me to get there is, I believe best wish you could make for me. Good-bye.'

"We were now alone. I said to him, 'Lincoln, wit knowledge of your nervous sensibility, it is a wonder such scenes as this don't kill you.' He thought for a ment and then answered in a languid voice, 'Yes, yo to a certain degree right. I ought not to undergo w so often do. I am very unwell now; my feet and han late seem to be always cold, and I ought perhaps in bed; but things of the sort you have just seen hurt me, for, to tell you the truth, that scene is the thing today that has made me forget my condition or me any pleasure. I have, in that order, made two p happy and alleviated the distress of many a poor soul I never expect to see. That old lady,' he continued,

o counterfeit. The mother spoke out in all the features
her face. It is more than one can often say that in doing
ght one has made two people happy in one day. Speed,
e when I may, I want it said of me by those who know
e best, that I always plucked a thistle and planted a
wer when I thought a flower would grow.' What a
ting sentiment! What a glorious recollection!"

The recollections of Lincoln by Mr. Swett are in the
rm of a letter dated January 17, 1866. There is so much
what I know to be true in it, and it is so graphically
ld, that although there may be some repetition of what
as already been touched upon in the preceding chapters,
ill I believe that the portrait of Lincoln will be made all
e more lifelike by inserting the letter without abridgment.

"CHICAGO, ILL., Jan. 17, 1866.

WM. H. HERNDON, ESQ.

"Springfield, Ill.

"DEAR SIR: I received your letter today, asking me to
rite you Friday. Fearing if I delay, you will not get it in
me, I will give you such hasty thoughts as may occur to me
night. I have mislaid your second lecture, so that I have
t read it at all, and have not read your first one since about
e time it was published. What I shall say, therefore, will be
sed upon my own ideas rather than a review of the lecture.

"Lincoln's whole life was a calculation of the law of forces
d ultimate results. The whole world to him was a question
cause and effect. He believed the results to which certain
uses tended; he did not believe that those results could be
aterially hastened or impeded. His whole political history,
pecially since the agitation of the slavery question, has been
sed upon this theory. He believed from the first, I think,
at the agitation of slavery would produce its overthrow, and
acted upon the result as though it was present from the be-
nning. His tactics were to get himself in the right place
d remain there still, until events would find him in that
ace. This course of action led him to say and do things
hich could not be understood when considered in reference
the immediate surroundings in which they were done or
id. You will remember, in his campaign against Douglas
1858, the first ten lines of the first speech he made defeated

him. The sentiment of the 'house divided against itself' see wholly inappropriate. It was a speech made at the c mencement of a campaign, and apparently made for the c paign. Viewing it in this light alone, nothing could been more unfortunate or inappropriate. It was saying the wrong thing; yet he saw it was an abstract truth, standing by the speech would ultimately find him in the r place. I was inclined at the time to believe these words hastily and inconsiderately uttered, but subsequent facts convinced me they were deliberate and had been matu Judge T. L. Dickey says, that at Bloomington, at the Republican Convention in 1856, he uttered the same sente in a speech delivered there, and that after the meeting over, he (Dickey) called his attention to these remarks.

"Lincoln justified himself in making them by stating were true; but finally, at Dickey's urgent request, he prom that for his sake, or upon his advice, he would not re them. In the summer of 1859, when he was dining wi party of his intimate friends at Bloomington, the subject o Springfield speech was discussed. We all insisted it w great mistake, but he justified himself, and finally said, 'V gentlemen, you may think that speech was a mistake, b never have believed it was, and you will see the day when will consider it was the wisest thing I ever said.'

"He never believed in political combinations, and co quently, whether an individual man or class of men suppo or opposed him, never made any difference in his feeling his opinions of his own success. If he was elected, he see to believe that no person or class of persons could ever defeated him, and if defeated, he believed nothing could have elected him. Hence, when he was a candidate never wanted anything done for him in the line of pol combination or management. He seemed to want to le whole subject alone, and for everybody else to do the s I remember, after the Chicago Convention, when a portion of the East were known to be dissatisfied at his n nation, when fierce conflicts were going on in New York Pennsylvania, and when great exertions seemed requisi harmonize and mould in concert the action of our fri Lincoln always seemed to oppose all efforts made in th rection of uniting the party. I arranged with Mr. Thu Weed after the Chicago Convention to meet him at Sp field. I was present at the interview, but Lincoln said not

t was proposed that Judge Davis should go to New York
id Pennsylvania to survey the field and see what was neces-
ry to be done. Lincoln consented, but it was always my
inion that he consented reluctantly.

"He saw that the pressure of a campaign was the external
rce coercing the party into unity. If it failed to produce
at result, he believed any individual effort would also fail.
the desired result followed, he considered it attributable to
e great cause, and not aided by the lesser ones. He sat
wn in his chair in Springfield and made himself the Mecca
which all politicians made pilgrimages. He told them all a
ory, said nothing, and sent them away. All his efforts to
ocure a second nomination were in the same direction. I
lieve he earnestly desired that nomination. He was much
ore eager for it than he was for the first, and yet from the
ginning he discouraged all efforts on the part of his friends
obtain it. From the middle of his first term all his ad-
rsaries were busily at work for themselves. Chase had
ree or four secret societies and an immense patronage ex-
nding all over the country. Frémont was constantly at
ork, yet Lincoln would never do anything either to hinder
em or to help himself.

"He was considered too conservative, and his adversaries
ere trying to outstrip him in satisfying the radical element.
had a conversation with him upon this subject in October,
63, and tried to induce him to recommend in his annual
essage a constitutional amendment abolishing slavery. I
ld him I was not very radical, but I believed the result of the
ar would be the extermination of slavery; that Congress
ould pass the amendment making the slave free, and that it
as proper at that time to be done. I told him also, if he took
at stand, it was an outside position, and no one could main-
in himself upon any measure more radical, and if he failed
take the position, his rivals would. Turning to me suddenly
said, 'Is not the question of emancipation doing well enough
w?' I replied it was. 'Well,' said he, 'I have never done
official act with a view to promote my own personal ag-
andizement, and I don't like to begin now. I can see that
ancipation is coming; whoever can wait for it will see it;
oever stands in its way will be run over by it.'

"His rivals were using money profusely; journals and in-
ences were being subsidized against him. I accidentally
rned that a Washington newspaper, through a purchase of

the establishment, was to be turned against him, and consu
him about taking steps to prevent it. The only thin
could get him to say was that he would regret to see
paper turned against him. Whatever was done had to
done without his knowledge. Mr. Bennett of the *Her*
with his paper, you know, is a power. The old gentle
wanted to be noticed by Lincoln, and he wanted to sup
him. A friend of his, who was certainly in his secrets, c
to Washington and intimated if Lincoln would invite Ben
to come over and chat with him, his paper would be all ri
Mr. Bennett wanted nothing, he simply wanted to be noti
Lincoln in talking about it said, 'I understand it; Bennett
made a great deal of money, some say not very properly,
he wants me to make him respectable. I have never inv
Mr. Bryant or Mr. Greeley here; I shall not, theref
especially invite Mr. Bennett.' All Lincoln would say
that he was receiving everybody, and he should receive
Bennett if he came.

"Notwithstanding his entire inaction, he never for a
ment doubted his second nomination. One time in his r
discussing with him who his real friends were, he told m
I would not show it, he would make a list of how the Se
stood. When he got through, I pointed out some five or
and I told him I knew he was mistaken about them. Said
'You may think so, but you keep that until the convention
tell me then whether I was right.' He was right to a
He kept a kind of account book of how things were progr
ing, for three or four months, and whenever I would
nervous and think things were going wrong, he would
out his estimates and show how everything on the great
of action, such as the resolutions of legislatures, the inst
tions of delegates, and things of that character, were g
exactly as he expected. These facts, with many others
kindred nature, have convinced me that he managed his pol
upon a plan entirely different from any other man the cou
has ever produced.

"He managed his campaigns by ignoring men and by ig
ing all small causes, but by closely calculating the tende
of events and the great forces which were producing lo
results.

"In his conduct of the war he acted upon the theory
but one thing was necessary, and that was a united N
He had all shades of sentiments and opinions to deal with

e consideration was always presented to his mind, how can hold these discordant elements together?

"It was here that he located his own greatness as a Presi-ent. One time, about the middle of the war, I left his house out eleven o'clock at night, at the Soldier's Home. We had en discussing the discords in the country, and particularly e States of Missouri and Kentucky. As we separated at e door he said, 'I may not have made as great a President some other men, but I believe I have kept these discordant ements together as well as anyone could.' Hence, in dealing ith men he was a trimmer, and such a trimmer the world as never seen. Halifax, who was great in his day as a trim-er, would blush by the side of Lincoln; yet Lincoln never immed in principles, it was only in his conduct with men. e used the patronage of his office to feed the hunger of these arious factions. Weed always declared that he kept a regular count-book of his appointments in New York, dividing his arious favors so as to give each faction more than it could et from any other source, yet never enough to satisfy its petite.

"They all had access to him, they all received favors from m, and they all complained of ill treatment; but while un-tisfied, they all had 'large expectations,' and saw in him the ance of obtaining more than from anyone else whom they uld be sure of getting in his place. He used every force to e best possible advantage. He never wasted anything, and ould always give more to his enemies than he would to his iends; and the reason was, because he never had anything spare, and in the close calculation of attaching the factions him, he counted upon the abstract affection of his friends an element to be offset against some gift with which he ust appease his enemies. Hence, there was always some ith in the charge of his friends that he failed to reciprocate eir devotion with his favors. The reason was, that he had ly just so much to give away—'He always had more horses an oats.'

"An adhesion of all forces was indispensable to his success d the success of the country; hence he husbanded his means th the greatest nicety of calculation. Adhesion was what wanted; if he got it gratuitously he never wasted his sub-nce paying for it.

"His love of the ludicrous was not the least peculiar of s characteristics. His love of fun made him overlook every-

thing else but the point of the joke sought after. If he to good story that was refined and had a sharp point, he did like it any the better because it was refined. If it was rageously vulgar, he never seemed to see that part of it, had the sharp ring of wit; nothing ever reached him but wit. Almost any man that will tell a very vulgar story, in a degree, a vulgar mind; but it was not so with him; all his purity of character and exalted morality and se bility, which no man can doubt, when hunting for wit had no abilty to discriminate between the vulgar and the fined substances from which he extracted it. It was the he was after, the pure jewel, and he would pick it up ou the mud or dirt just as readily as he would from a pa table.

"He had great kindness of heart. His mind was ful tender sensibilities, and he was extremely humane, yet w these attributes were fully developed in his character, unless intercepted by his judgment, controlled him, they n did control him contrary to his judgment. He would st a point to be kind, but he never strained it to breaking. N men of much kindly feeling are controlled by this sentir against their judgment, or rather that sentiment beclouds t judgment. It was never so with him; he would be jus kind and generous as his judgment would let him be- more. If he ever deviated from this rule, it was to save He would sometimes, I think, do things he knew to be politic and wrong to save some poor fellow's neck. I rem ber one day being in his room when he was sitting at table with a large pile of papers before him, and aft pleasant talk he turned quite abruptly and said, 'Get ou the way, Swett; to-morrow is butcher-day, and I mus through these papers and see if I cannot find some excus let these poor fellows off.' The pile of papers he had the records of courts martial of men who on the following were to be shot. He was not examining the records to whether the evidence sustained the findings; he was purp in search of occasions to evade the law, in favor of life.

"Some of Lincoln's friends have insisted that he la the strong attributes of personal affection which he oug have exhibited; but I think this is a mistake. Lincoln too much justice to run a great government for a few fa and the complaints against him in this regard, when pro

igested, seem to amount to this and no more, that he would ot abuse the privileges of his situation.

"He was certainly a very poor hater. He never judged ıen by his like or dislike for them. If any given act was to e performed, he could understand that his enemy could do as well as anyone. If a man had maligned him or been uilty of personal ill-treatment, and was the fittest man for the lace, he would give him that place just as soon as he would ive it to a friend.

"I do not think he ever removed a man because he was his ıemy or because he disliked him.

"The great secret of his power as an orator, in my judg- ent, lay in the clearness and perspicuity of his statements. Vhen Mr. Lincoln had stated a case it was always more than alf argued and the point more than half won. It is said that ome one of the crowned heads of Europe proposed to marry hen he had a wife living. A gentleman, hearing of this roposition, replied, how could he? 'Oh,' replied his friend, ıe could marry and then he could get Mr. Gladstone to make n explanation about it.' This was said to illustrate the con- incing power of Mr. Gladstone's statement.

"Mr. Lincoln had this power greater than any man I have ver known. The first impression he generally conveyed was, ıat he had stated the case of his adversary better and more orcibly than his opponent could state it himself. He then nswered that statement of facts fairly and fully, never pass- ıg by or skipping over a bad point.

"When this was done he presented his own case. There as a feeling, when he argued a case, in the mind of any man ho listened to it, that nothing had been passed over; yet if e could not answer the objections he argued, in his own mind, ıd himself arrive at the conclusion to which he was leading hers, he had very little power of argumentation. The force f his logic was in conveying to the minds of others the same ear and thorough analysis he had in his own, and if his own ind failed to be satisfied, he had little power to satisfy any- ody else. He never made a sophistical argument in his life, ıd never could make one. I think he was of less real aid in ying a thoroughly bad case than any man I was ever as- ociated with. If he could not grasp the whole case and be- eve in it, he was never inclined to touch it.

"From the commencement of his life to its close, I have

sometimes doubted whether he ever asked anybody's adv about anything. He would listen to everybody; he wo hear everybody; but he rarely, if ever, asked for opinions never knew him in trying a case to ask the advice of lawyer he was associated with.

"As a politician and as President, he arrived at all his c clusions from his own reflections, and when his opinion once formed, he never doubted but what it was right.

"One great public mistake of his character, as generally ceived and acquiesced in, is that he is considered by the pe of this country as a frank, guileless, and unsophisticated m There never was a greater mistake. Beneath a smooth face of candor and apparent declaration of all his thoughts feelings, he exercised the most exalted tact and the wi discrimination. He handled and moved men remotely as do pieces upon a chess-board. He retained through life the friends he ever had, and he made the wrath of his ener to praise him. This was not by cunning or intrigue, in low acceptation of the term, but by far-seeing reason and cernment. He always told enough only of his plans and poses to induce the belief that he had communicated all, he reserved enough to have communicated nothing. He all that was unimportant with a gushing frankness, yet man ever kept his real purposes closer, or penetrated the fu further with his deep designs.

"You ask me whether he changed his religious opin towards the close of his life. I think not. As he became volved in matters of the greatest importance, full of great sponsibility and great doubt, a feeling of religious revere a belief in God and his justice and overruling power incre with him. He was always full of natural religion; he beli in God as much as the most approved Church member, ye judged of Him by the same system of generalization a judged everything else. He had very little faith in ceremo or forms. In fact he cared nothing for the form of thing. But his heart was full of natural and cultivated ligion. He believed in the great laws of truth, and the discharge of duty, his accountability to God, the ulti trumph of the right and the overthrow of wrong. If hi ligion were to be judged by the lines and rules of Ch creeds he would fall far short of the standard; but if by higher rule of purity of conduct, of honesty of motive, o yielding fidelity to the right, and acknowledging God a

preme ruler, then he filled all the requirements of true de-tion, and his whole life was a life of love to God, and love his neighbor as of himself.

"Yours truly,

"LEONARD SWETT."

CHAPTER NINETEE

THE OUTLINES OF MR. LINCOLN'S PRESIDENTIAL CAR
are alone sufficient to fill a volume, and his history a
he had been sworn into office by Chief Justice Tane
so much a history of the entire country, and has beer
admirably and thoroughly told by others, that I appreh
I can omit many of the details and still not impair the
trait I have been endeavoring to draw in the mind of
reader. The rapid shifting of scenes in the drama of
cession, the disclosure of rebellious plots and conspira
the threats of Southern orators and newspapers, all
minating in the attack on Fort Sumter, brought the ne
installed President face to face with the stern and g
realities of a civil war.[1] Mr. Lincoln's military knowl
had been acquired in the famous campaign against the

[1] In a letter to Herndon dated November 13, 1866, and publ
originally as a footnote, Henry C. Whitney wrote as foll
"Lincoln then told me of his last interview with Douglas.
day Douglas came rushing in,' he related, 'and said he had
got a telegraph dispatch from some friends in Illinois u
him to come right out and help set things right in Egypt,
that he would go, or stay in Washington, just where I th
he could do the most good. I told him to do as he chose
that he could probably do best in Illinois. Upon that he s
hands with me and hurried away to catch the next train. I
saw him again'."

Whitney's statement does not appear to advantage in
parison with the following from Nicolay and Hay: "Ha
through a friend, signified his desire for an interview, Do
went to the Executive Mansion between seven and eight o'
on this Sunday evening, April 14, and being privately rec
by the President, these two remarkable men sat in confid
interview, without a witness, nearly two hours." *Abraham
coln: A History,* IV., p. 80.

an Chief Black Hawk on the frontier in 1832, the thrill-
g details of which he had already given the country in a
ongressional stump-speech; and to this store of expe-
ence he had made little if any addition. It was therefore
nerally conceded that in grappling with the realities of
e problem which now confronted both himself and the
untry he would be wholly dependent on those who had
ade the profession of arms a life-work. Those who held
ch hastily conceived notions of Mr. Lincoln were evi-
ntly misled by his well-known and freely advertised
mocratic manners. Anybody had a right, it was sup-
sed, to advise him of his duty; and he was so conscious
his shortcomings as a military President that the army
ficers and Cabinet would run the Government and con-
ct the war. That was the popular idea. Little did the
ess, or people, or politicians then know that the country
wyer who occupied the executive chair was the most self-
liant man who ever sat in it, and that when the crisis
me his rivals in the Cabinet, and the people everywhere,
ould learn that he and he alone would be master of the
tuation.

It is doubtless true that for a long time after his entry to office he did not assert himself; that is, not realizing e gigantic scale upon which the war was destined to be ught, he may have permitted the idea to go forth that ing unused to the command of armies he would place mself entirely in the hands of those who were.[2] The ecretary of State, whose ten years in the Senate had ac-ainted him with our relations to foreign powers, may ve been lulled into the innocent belief that the Execu-e would have no fixed or definite views on international estions. So also of the other Cabinet officers; but alas

[2] On June 13, 1866, Henry C. Whitney wrote Herndon: "I s in Washington in the Indian service for a few days before igust, 1861, and I merely said to Lincoln one day, 'Everything drifting into the war, and I guess you will have to put me the army.' He looked up from his work and said, good-moredly, 'I'm making generals now. In a few days I will making quartermasters, and then I'll fix you'." Whitney s later commissioned paymaster of volunteers.

for their fancied security! It was the old story of sleeping lion. Old politicians, eyeing him with some trust and want of confidence, prepared themselves to c trol his administration, not only as a matter of right, believing that he would be compelled to rely upon th for support. A brief experience taught them he was the man they bargained for.

[Herndon was not aware how quickly Lincoln asse his intention to be the real ruler of the country. On A 1, 1861, Seward presented him with a remarkable do ment entitled, "Some Thoughts for the President's C sideration." Premising his suggestions with the staten that "we are at the end of a month's administration, yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign," and "further delay to adopt and prosecute our policies for b domestic and foreign affairs would not only bring sca on the Administration, but danger upon the country," urged that the question before the country be shifted f slavery to union or disunion. To effect this he propo the evacuation of Fort Sumter, advocating at the s time the retention of all other forts and possessions in South.

The kernel of Seward's "Thoughts," however, wa predatory foreign policy. Believing foreign war a cer cure for internal dissention, he proposed that explanat be categorically demanded of Spain and France, that Congress be convened and war declared if satisfac replies were not received. He also proposed that expl tions be sought from Great Britain and Russia, and agents be sent to Canada, Mexico and Central Ame to arouse what he described as a vigorous contine spirit of independence. In conclusion, he asserted when a line of policy should be adopted, either the P dent must pursue it incessantly or devolve it upon s member of his cabinet. "It is not my especial provin he wrote, "but I neither seek to evade nor assume res sibility."

Lincoln's reply, combining his keenness of analysis lack of rancor with a prophecy of the mastery he was to assert over his cabinet, deserves quotation in full.

"EXECUTIVE MANSION, April 1, 1861.

HON. W. H. SEWARD.

'MY DEAR SIR: Since parting with you I have been con-
dering your paper dated this day, and entitled 'Some
oughts for the President's consideration.' The first proposi-
n in it is, '*First*, We are at the end of a month's administra-
n, and yet without a policy, either domestic or foreign.'

"At the beginning of that month, in the inaugural, I said,
he power confided to me will be used to hold, occupy, and
sess the property and places belonging to the Govern-
nt, and to collect the duties and imposts.' This had your
tinct approval at the time; and, taken in connection with
e order I immediately gave General Scott, directing him to
ploy every means in his power to strengthen and hold the
ts, comprises the exact domestic policy you now urge,
th the single exception that it does not propose to abandon
rt Sumter.

"Again, I do not perceive how the reënforcement of Fort
mter would be done on a slavery or party issue, while that
Fort Pickens would be on a more national and patriotic one.

"The news received yesterday in regard to St. Domingo
rtainly brings a new item within the range of our foreign
licy; but up to that time we have been preparing circulars
d instructions to ministers and the like, all in perfect
rmony, without even a suggestion that we had no foreign
licy.

"Upon your closing propositions, that 'whatever policy we
opt, there must be an energetic prosecution of it,

" 'For this purpose it must be somebody's business to pursue
d direct it incessantly,

" 'Either the President must do it himself, and be all the
ile active in it, or

" 'Devolve it on some member of his Cabinet. Once
opted, debates on it must end, and all agree and abide,' I
mark that if this must be done, I must do it. When a
neral line of policy is adopted, I apprehend there is no
nger of its being changed without good reason or continuing
be a subject of unnecessary debate; still, upon points aris-
in its progress I wish, and suppose I am entitled to have,
advice of all the Cabinet.

"Your ob't serv't,

"A. LINCOLN."]

Next in importance to the attack on Fort Sumter, fr
a military standpoint, was the battle of Bull Run. H
the President viewed it is best illustrated by an incid
furnished by an old friend, Robert L. Wilson, who
an associate of his in the Legislature of Illinois, and
was in Washington when the engagement took place. "
night after the battle," he relates, "accompanied by
Wisconsin Congressmen, I called at the White House
get the news from Manassas, as it was then called, hav
failed in obtaining any information at Seward's office
elsewhere. Stragglers were coming with all sorts of
rumors, but nothing more definite than that there had b
a great engagement; and the bearer of each report
barely escaped with his life. Messengers bearing
patches to the President and Secretary of War were c
stantly arriving, but ousiders could gather nothing wor
of belief. Having learned that Mr. Lincoln was at
War Department we started thither, but found the bu
ing surrounded by a great crowd, all as much in the d
as we. Removing a short distance away we sat down
rest. Presently Mr. Lincoln and Mr. Nicolay, his
vate secretary, came along, headed for the White Ho
It was proposed by my companions that as I was
quainted with the President I should join him and
for the news. I did so, but he said that he had alre
told more than under the rules of the War Departmen
had any right to, and that, although he could see no h
in it, the Secretary of War had forbidden his impar
information to persons not in the military service. 'T
war fellows,' he said, complainingly, 'are very strict
me, and I regret that I am prevented from telling
anything; but I must obey them, I suppose, until I get
hang of things.' 'But, Mr. President,' I insisted, 'if
cannot tell me the news, you can at least indicate its
ture, that is, whether good or bad.' The suggestion st
him favorably. Grasping my arm he leaned over, and
ing his face near my ear, said, in a shrill but subd
voice, 'It's d——d bad.' It was the first time I had
heard him use profane language, if indeed it was pro

that connection; but later, when the painful details of e fight came in, I realized that, taking into consideration e time and the circumstances, no other term would have ntained a truer qualification of the word 'bad'."

"About one week after the battle of Bull Run," relates other old friend—Whitney—from Illinois, "I made a ll on Mr. Lincoln, having no business except to give him me presents which the nuns at the Osage Mission school Kansas had sent to him through me. A Cabinet meet- had just adjourned, and I was directed to go at once his room. He was keeping at bay a throng of callers, t, noticing me enter, arose and greeted me with his l-time cordiality. After the room had been partially ared of visitors Secretary Seward came in and called a case which related to the territory of New Mexico. h, I see,' said Lincoln; 'they have neither Governor nor overnment. Well, you see Jim Lane; the secretary is s man, and he must hunt him up.' Seward then left, der the impression, as I then thought, that Lincoln nted to get rid of him and diplomacy at the same time. veral other persons were announced, but Lincoln noti- d them all that he was busy and could not see them. He s playful and sportive as a child, told me all sorts of ecdotes, dealing largely in stories about Charles James x, and inquired after several odd characters whom we th knew in Illinois. While thus engaged General James s announced. This officer had sent in word that he uld leave town that evening, and must confer with the esident before going. 'Well, as he is one of the fellows o make cannons,' observed Lincoln, 'I suppose I must e him. Tell him when I get through with Whitney I'll e him.' No more cards came up, and James left about e o'clock, declaring that the President was closeted th 'an old Hoosier from Illinois, and was telling dirty rns while the country was quietly going to hell.' But, wever indignant General James may have felt, and atever the people may have thought, still the President s full of the war. He got down his maps of the seat war," continues Whitney, "and gave me a full history

of the preliminary discussions and steps leading to
battle of Bull Run. He was opposed to the battle,
explained to General Scott by those very maps how
enemy could by the aid of the railroad reinforce t
army at Manassas Gap until they had brought every
there, keeping us meanwhile successfully at bay. 'I sho
to General Scott our paucity of railroad advantages at
point,' said Lincoln, 'and their plenitude, but Scott
obdurate and would not listen to the possibility of def
Now you see I was right, and Scott knows it, I reck
My plan was, and still is, to make a strong feint aga
Richmond and distract their forces before attack
Manassas. That problem General McClellan is now
ing to work out.' Mr. Lincoln then told me of the
he had recommended to McClellan, which was to
gunboats up one of the rivers—not the James—in
direction of Richmond, and divert the enemy there w
the main attack was made at Manassas. I took occa
to say that McClellan was ambitious to be his succes
'I am perfectly willing,' he answered, 'if he will only
an end to this war'."[3]

The interview of Mr. Whitney with the President
this occasion is especially noteworthy because the la
unfolded to him his idea of the general plan forme
his mind to suppress the rebellion movement and de
the Southern army. "The President," continues Mr. W
ney, "now explained to me his theory of the Rebellio
the aid of the maps before him. Running his long
finger down the map he stopped at Virginia. 'We

[3] In a footnote to this paragraph Herndon stated that
interview was written out during the war, and that it cont
many of Lincoln's peculiarities of expression. If that is
case, Whitney—at least in this instance—was not a reliabl
porter. Scott was opposed to the advance which culminat
defeat at Bull Run, and if Lincoln did not actively favor
made no objection when the cabinet decided it was polit
expedient. Moreover, in subsequent correspondence relati
McClellan's Peninsular campaign he laid no emphasis up
naval feint against Richmond. Whitney's reference to McCl
political ambitions is clearly an after-thought.

ive them away from here (Manassas Gap),' he said, id clear them out of this part of the State so that they nnot threaten us here (Washington) and get into Mary- id. We must keep up a good and thorough blockade their ports. We must march an army into east Ten- ssee and liberate the Union sentiment there. Finally must rely on the people growing tired and saying to eir leaders: 'We have had enough of this thing, we will ar it no longer'.

Such was Mr. Lincoln's plan for heading off the Re- llion in the summer of 1861. How it enlarged as the ar progressed, from a call for seventy-five thousand vol- teers to one for five hundred thousand men and five ndred millions of dollars, is a matter now of well- own history. The war once inaugurated, it was plain the orth had three things to do. These were: the opening the Mississippi River; the blockade of the Southern rts; and the capture of Richmond. To accomplish these eat and vital ends the deadly machinery of war was set motion. The long-expected upheaval had come, and the torrent of fire broke forth the people in the agony despair looking aloft cried out, "Is our leader equal to e task?" That he was the man for the hour is now the lm, unbiased judgment of all mankind.

The splendid victories early in 1862 in the southwest, hich gave the Union cause great advance toward the en- e redemption of Kentucky, Tennessee, and Missouri om the presence of rebel armies and the prevalence of bel influence, were counterbalanced by the dilatory move- nts and inactive policy of McClellan, who had been ap- inted in November of the preceding year to succeed the nerable Scott. The forbearance of Lincoln in dealing th McClellan was only in keeping with his well-known rit of kindness; but, when the time came and circum- nces warranted it, the soldier-statesman found that the esident not only comprehended the scope of the war, t was determined to be commander-in-chief of the army d navy himself. When it pleased him to place McClel- again at the head of affairs, over the protest of such

a wilful and indomitable spirit as Stanton, he displa
elements of rare leadership and evidence of uncomm
capacity. His confidence in the ability and power
Grant, when the press and many of the people had tur
against the hero of Vicksburg, was but another proof
his sagacity and sound judgment.

As the bloody drama of war moves along we come
to the crowning act in Mr. Lincoln's career—that subl
stroke with which his name will be forever and indis
ubly united—the emancipation of the slaves. In the mi
of many people there had been a crying need for the
eration of the slaves. Laborious efforts had been mad
hasten the issuance by the President of the Emancipa
Proclamation, but he was determined not to be forced
premature and inoperative measures. Wendell Phi
abused and held him up to public ridicule from the st
in New England. Horace Greeley turned the batterie
the *New York Tribune* against him; and, in a word
encountered all the rancor and hostility of his old frie
the Abolitionists. General Frémont having in the fal
1861 undertaken by virtue of his authority as a mili
commander to emancipate the slaves in his departm
the President annulled the order, which he character
as unauthorized and premature. This precipitated an
lanche of fanatical opposition. Individuals and del
tions, many claiming to have been sent by the Lord, vis
him day after day, and urged immediate emancipa
In August, 1862, Horace Greeley repeated the "praye
twenty millions of people" protesting against any fur
delay. Such was the pressure from the outside. All
life Mr. Lincoln had been a believer in the doctrin
gradual emancipation. He advocated it while in
gress in 1848; yet even now, as a military necessity
could not believe the time was ripe for the general
eration of the slaves. All the coercion from without,
all the blandishments from within, his political house
failed to move him. An heroic figure, indifferent
to praise and blame, he stood at the helm and waited.
the shadow of his lofty form the smaller men could

their petty conflicts. Towering thus, he overlooked
m all, and fearlessly abided his time. At last the great
ment came. He called his Cabinet together and read
e decree. The deed was done, unalterably, unhesitat-
gly, irrevocably, and triumphantly. The people, at first
foundly impressed, stood aloof, but, seeing the builder
side the great structure he had so long been rearing,
ir confidence was abundantly renewed. It was a glo-
us work, "sincerely believed to be an act of justice war-
nted by the constitution upon military necessity," and
on it its author "invoked the considerate judgment of
nkind and the gracious favor of Almighty God." I
ieve Mr. Lincoln wished to go down in history as
e liberator of the black man. He realized to its fullest
tent the responsibility and magnitude of the act, and
clared it was "the central act of his administration and
e great event of the nineteenth century." Always a
end of the negro, he had from boyhood waged a bitter
relenting warfare against his enslavement. He had
vocated his cause in the courts, on the stump, in the
gislature of his State and that of the nation, and, as if
crown it with a sacrifice, he sealed his devotion to the
at cause of freedom with his blood. As the years roll
wly by, and the participants in the late war drop grad-
ly out of the ranks of men, let us pray that we may never
get their deeds of patriotic valor; but even if the de-
ls of that bloody struggle grow dim, as they will with
e lapse of time, let us hope that so long as a friend of
e man and free labor lives the dust of forgetfulness
y never settle on the historic form of Abraham Lin-
n.

As the war progressed, there was of course much criti-
m of Mr. Lincoln's policy, and some of his political
als lost no opportunity to encourage opposition to his
thods. He bore everything meekly and with sublime
ience, but as the discontent appeared to spread he felt
led upon to indicate his course. On more than one oc-
ion he pointed out the blessings of the Emancipation
oclamation or throttled the clamorer for immediate

peace. In the following letter to James C. Conkling[1] Springfield, Ill., in reply to an invitation to attend a m meeting of "Unconditional Union" men to be held at old home, he not only disposed of the advocates of c promise, but he evinced the most admirable skill in dea with the questions of the day:

"Executive Mansion,
Washington, August 26, 186

"HON. JAMES C. CONKLING.

"My Dear Sir:

"Your letter inviting me to attend a mass meeting of conditional Union men, to be held at the Capital of Illi on the 3rd day of September, has been received.

"It would be very agreeable to me to thus meet my friends at my own home; but I cannot, just now, be ab from here so long as a visit there would require.

"The meeting is to be of all those who maintain un ditional devotion to the Union; and I am sure my old poli friends will thank me for tendering, as I do, the nation's g tude to those other noble men, whom no partisan malice partisan's hope, can make false to the nation's life.

"There are those who are dissatisfied with me. To su

[1] In the original edition a letter from James C. Conklin Jesse W. Weik, Jan. 11, 1889, was printed as a footnote. T Conkling wrote, "Mr. Bancroft, the historian, in commentin this letter, considers it addressed to me as one who was critic Mr. Lincoln's policy. On the contrary, I was directed meeting of 'Unconditional Union' men to invite Mr. Lincol attend a mass meeting composed of such men, and he si took occasion to address his opponents through the mediu the letter."

At the same time Conkling transmitted a copy of the follo note from Lincoln:

"War Department,
"Washington City, D. C., August 27,

"My Dear Conkling:

"I cannot leave here now. Herewith is a letter instead. are one of the best public readers. I have but one suggest read it very slowly. And now God bless you, and all good U men.

"Yours as ever,
"A. Lincoln."

uld say: You desire peace; and you blame me that we do t have it. But how can we attain it? There are but three nceivable ways.

'First, to suppress the rebellion by force of arms. This I n trying to do. Are you for it? If you are, so far we are reed. If you are not for it, a second way is, to give up the ion. I am against this. Are you for it? If you are, you uld say so plainly. If you are not for *force*, nor yet for *solution*, there only remains some imaginable *compromise*. io not believe any compromise, embracing the maintenance the Union, is now possible. All I learn leads to a directly posite belief. The strength of the rebellion is its military ts army. That army dominates all the country and all the ople within its range. Any offer of terms made by any n or men within that range in opposition to that army is nply nothing for the present, because such man or men ve no power whatever to enforce their side of a compro- se, if one were made with them. To illustrate: suppose ugees from the South, and peace men of the North, get to- ther in convention and frame and proclaim a compromise bracing a restoration of the Union; in what way can that mpromise be used to keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania? eade's army can keep Lee's army out of Pennsylvania, and hink can ultimately drive it out of existence.

"But no paper compromise, to which the controllers of Lee's my are not agreed, can at all affect that army. In an effort such compromise we should waste time, which the enemy uld improve to our disadvantage; and that would be all. compromise, to be effective, must be made either with those o control the rebel army, or with the people first liberated m the domination of that army by the success of our own ny. Now allow me to assure you that no word or intimation m that rebel army or from any of the men controlling it, relation to any peace compromise, has ever come to my owledge or belief.

"All changes and insinuations to the contrary are deceptive d groundless. And I promise you that, if any such proposi- n shall hereafter come, it shall not be rejected and kept a ret from you. I freely acknowledge myself the servant of people, according to the bond of service—the United tes Constitution, and that, as such, I am responsible to m.

'But to be plain, you are dissatisfied with me about the

negro. Quite likely there is a difference of opinion betw
you and myself upon that subject.

"I certainly wish that all men could be free, while I
pose you do not. Yet I have neither adopted nor prop
any measure which is not consistent with even your v
provided you are for the Union. I suggested compens
emancipation; to which you replied you wished not to
taxed to buy negroes. But I had not asked you to be taxe
buy negroes, except in such way as to save you from gre
taxation to save the Union exclusively by other means.

"You dislike the Emancipation Proclamation, and, perh
would have it retracted. You say it is unconstitutiona
think differently. I think the constitution invests its C
mander-in-chief with the law of war in time of war.
most that can be said, if so much, is that slaves are prop
Is there—has there ever been—any question that by the
of war, property, both of enemies and friends, may be t
when needed?

"And is it not needed wherever taking it helps us or h
the enemy? Armies the world over destroy enemies' prop
when they cannot use it; and even destroy their own to
it from the enemy. Civilized belligerents do all in their po
to help themselves or hurt the enemy, except a few th
regarded as barbarous or cruel.

"Among the exceptions are the massacre of vanquished
and non-combatants, male and female.

"But the proclamation, as law, either is valid or is
valid.

"If it is not valid, it needs no retraction. If it is v
it cannot be retracted any more than the dead can be bro
back to life. Some of you profess to think its retraction w
operate favorably for the Union.

"Why *better* after the retraction than *before* the issue?

"There was more than a year and a half of trial to
press the rebellion before the proclamation issued, the last
hundred days of which passed under an explicit notice th
was coming, unless averted by those in revolt returnin
their allegiance.

"The war has certainly progressed as favorably for us
the issue of the proclamation as before.

"I know as fully as one can know the opinion of o
that some of the commanders of our armies in the field
have given us our most important successes believe the em

ion policy and the use of the colored troops constituted the viest blow yet dealt to the Rebellion, and that at least one these important successes could not have been achieved en it was but for the aid of black soldiers. Among the mmanders holding these views are some who have never l any affinity with what is called abolitionism or with Re- lican party policies, but who held them purely as military nions. I submit these opinions as being entitled to some ght against the objections often urged that emancipation arming the blacks are unwise as military measures, and e not adopted as such in good faith.

You say you will not fight to free negroes. Some of them n willing to fight for you; but no matter.

Fight you, then, exclusively to save the Union. I issued proclamation on purpose to aid you in saving the Union. enever you shall have conquered all resistance to the ion, if I shall urge you to continue fighting, it will be an time then for you to declare you will not fight to free roes.

I thought that in your struggle for the Union, to what- r extent the negroes should cease helping the enemy, to t extent it weakened the enemy in his resistance to you. you think differently? I thought that whatever negroes be got to do as soldiers leaves just so much less for white liers to do, in saving the Union. Does it appear otherwise you?

But negroes, like other people, act upon motives. Why uld they do anything for us, if we will do nothing for m? If they stake their lives for us, they must be prompted the strongest motive—even the promise of freedom. And promise being made, must be kept.

The signs look better. The Father of Waters again goes exed to the sea. Thanks to the great North-west for it. r yet wholly to them. Three hundred miles up they met w England, Empire, Keystone, and Jersey, hewing their y right and left. The Sunny South too, in more colors n one, also lent a hand.

On the spot, their part of the history was jotted down in ck and white. The job was a great national one; and let e be barred who bore an honorable part in it. And while se who have cleared the great river may well be proud, n that is not all. It is hard to say that anything has been re bravely and well done than at Antietam, Murfreesboro,

Gettysburg, and on many fields of lesser note. Nor r
Uncle Sam's web-feet be forgotten. At all the watery mar
they have been present. Not only on the deep sea, the br
bay, and the rapid river, but also up the narrow, muddy ba
and wherever the ground was a little damp, they have b
and made their tracks, thanks to all. For the great republ
for the principle it lives by and keeps alive—for man's
future—thanks to all.

"Peace does not appear so distant as it did. I hope it
come soon and come to stay, and so come as to be worth
keeping in all future time. It will then have been proved t
among free men, there can be no successful appeal from
ballot to the bullet; and that they who take such appeal
sure to lose their case and pay the cost. And then there
be some black men who can remember that, with silent ton
and clenched teeth, and steady eye, and well-poised bayo
they have helped mankind on to this great consummat
while I fear there will be some white ones, unable to fo
that, with malignant heart and deceitful speech, they
strove to hinder it.

"Still, let us not be over-sanguine of a speedy final triu
Let us be quite sober. Let us diligently apply the means, n
doubting that a just God, in his own good time, will giv
the rightful result.

"Yours very truly,

"A. Lincoln

The summer and fall of 1864 were marked by Linc
second Presidential campaign, he, and Andrew John
of Tennessee, for Vice-President, having been nomin
at Baltimore on the 8th of June. Frémont, who had
placed in the field by a convention of malcontents at Cl
land, Ohio, had withdrawn in September, and the co
was left to Lincoln and General George B. McClellan
nominee of the Democratic convention at Chicago.
canvass was a heated and bitter one. Dissatisfied elem
appeared everywhere. The Judge Advocate-Genera
the army (Holt) created a sensation by the publication
report giving conclusive proof of the existence of an
ganized secret association at the North, controlled
prominent men in the Democratic party, whose ob

re the overthrow by revolution of the administration in interest of the rebellion.[5] Threats were rife of a revo- on at the North, especially in New York City, if Mr. coln were elected. Mr. Lincoln went steadily on in his

In a statement to Herndon September 10, 1866, David Davis , "Mr. Lincoln was advised, and I also so advised him, that various military trials in the Northern and Border States, re the courts were free and untrammelled, were unconstitu- al and wrong; that they would not and ought not to be ained by the Supreme Court; that such proceedings were gerous to liberty. He said he was opposed to hanging; that lid not like to kill his fellow-man; that if the world had no hers but himself it would go bloodless. When Joseph E. Donald went to Lincoln about these military trials and asked not to execute the men who had been executed by the military mission in Indiana he answered that he would not hang them, added, 'I'll keep them in prison awhile to keep them from ng the Government.' I am fully satisfied therefore that coln was opposed to these military commissions, especially in Northern States, where everything was open and free."

On this subject Joseph E. McDonald made the following state- t to Jesse W. Weik, August 28, 1888. "I was counsel for les, Milligan, *et al.,* who had been convicted of conspiracy nilitary tribunal in Indiana. Early in 1865 I went to Wash- on to confer with the President, whom I had known, and whom in earlier days I had practised law on the circuit in ois. My clients had been sentenced, and unless the President fered were to have been executed. Mr. Hendricks, who then in the Senate, and who seemed to have little faith in probability of executive clemency, accompanied me to the te House. It was early in the evening, and so many callers visitors had preceded us we anticipated a very brief inter- . Much to our surprise we found Mr. Lincoln in a singularly rful and reminiscent mood. He kept us with him till almost en o'clock. He went over the history of my clients' crime hown by the papers in the case, and suggested certain errors imperfections in the record. The papers, he explained, would to be returned for correction, and that would consume no time. 'You may go home, Mr. McDonald,' he said, with a sed expression, 'and I'll send for you when the papers get ; but I apprehend and hope there will be such a jubilee over ler,' he added, pointing to the hills of Virginia just across iver, 'we shall none of us want any more killing done.' The rs started on their long and circuitous journey, and sure gh, before they reached Washington again Mr. Lincoln's iction of the return of peace had proved true."

own peculiar way. In a preceding chapter Mr. Swett told us how indifferent he appeared to be regarding efforts to be made in his behalf. He did his duty as Pr dent, and rested secure in the belief that he would be elected whatever might be done for or against him. importance of retaining Indiana in the column of Repu can States was not to be overlooked. How the Presi viewed it, and how he proposed to secure the vote of State, is shown in the following letter written to Gen Sherman:

"EXECUTIVE MANSION,
"WASHINGTON, September 19, 186

"MAJOR GENERAL SHERMAN:

"The State election of Indiana occurs on the 11th of O ber, and the loss of it to the friends of the Government w go far towards losing the whole Union cause. The bad e upon the November election, and especially the giving State government to those who will oppose the war in e possible way, are too much to risk if it can be avoided. draft proceeds, notwithstanding its strong tendency to us the State. Indiana is the only important State votin October whose soldiers cannot vote in the field. Anyt you can safely do to let her soldiers or any part of ther home and vote at the State election will be greatly in p They need not remain for the Presidential election, but return to you at once. This is in no sense an order, b merely intended to impress you with the importance to army itself of your doing all you safely can, yourself b the judge of what you can safely do.

"Yours truly,
"A. LINCOLN

The election resulted in an overwhelming victory Lincoln. He received a majority of over four hun thousand in the popular vote—a larger majority than ever been received by any other President up to that t He carried not only Indiana, but all the New Eng States, New York, Pennsylvania, all the Western St West Virginia, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and newly admitted State of Nevada. McClellan carried

ee states: New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky. The ult, as Grant so aptly expressed it in his telegram of gratulation, was "a victory worth more to the country n a battle won." A second time Lincoln stood in front the great Capitol to take the oath of office administered his former rival, Salmon P. Chase, whom he himself appointed to succeed the deceased Roger B. Taney. e problem of the war was now fast working its own ution. The cruel stain of slavery had been effaced from national escutcheon, and the rosy morn of peace began dawn behind the breaking clouds of the great storm.[6]

[6] In a footnote to this sentence Herndon printed the following er from J. M. Ashley, November 23, 1866:

"I had given notice that at one o'clock on the 31st of January would call a vote on the proposed constitutional amendment lishing slavery in the United States. The opposition caught a report that morning that Peace Commissioners were on the to the city or were in the city. Had this been true I think proposed amendment would have failed, as a number who d for it could easily have been prevailed upon to vote against n the ground that the passage of such a proposition would offensive to the commissioners. Accordingly I wrote the sident this note:

"'House of Representatives,
"'January 31, 1865.

EAR SIR:

"'The report is in circulation in the House that Peace Commioners are on their way or in the city, and is being used inst us. If it is true, I fear we shall lose the bill. Please horize me to contradict it, if it is not true.

"'Respectfully,
"'J. M. ASHLEY.'"

"Almost immediately came the reply, written on the back of note:

"'So far as I know there are no Peace Commissioners in city or likely to be in it. "A. LINCOLN."

uary 31, 1865.

"Mr. Lincoln knew that the commissioners were then on their to Fortress Monroe, where he expected to meet them, and rwards did meet them. You see how he answered my note my purposes, and yet how truly. You know how he afterds met the so-called commission, whom he determined at time he wrote this note should not come to the city. One wo gentlemen were present when he wrote the note, to whom read it before sending it to me."

Lincoln, firm but kind, in his inaugural address bade misguided brethren of the South come back. With a ternal affection characteristic of the man, and strictly keeping with his former utterances, he asked for the turn of peace. "With malice toward none, with cha for all," he implored his fellow-countrymen, "with firmn in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wou to care for him who shall have borne the battle and for widow and his orphan, to do all which may achieve cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves and all nations." With the coming of spring the great arm awakening from their long winter's sleep, began prepa tions for the closing campaign. Sherman had already m that grandest march of modern times, from the mount of Tennessee through Georgia to the sea, while Grant, stolid indifference to public criticism and newspaper ab was creeping steadily on through swamp and ravine Richmond. Thomas had defeated Hood in Tennes sending the latter back with his army demoralized, cu pieces, and ruined. The young and daring Sheridan driven Early out of the Shenandoah Valley after a se of brilliant engagements. The *Kearsarge* had sunk *Alabama* in foreign waters. Farragut had captured bile, and the Union forces held undisputed possessio the West and the Mississippi Valley from the lakes to gulf. Meanwhile Sherman, undaunted by the perils further march through the enemy's country, retur from the sea, was aiming for Richmond, where G with bull-dog tenacity, held Lee firmly in his grasp. long, the latter, with his shattered army reduced to its original numbers, evacuated Richmond, with Gra close pursuit. A few days later the boys in blue over those in gray at Appomattox Courthouse, and there, u the warm rays of an April sun, the life was at last sque out of the once proud but now prostrate Confede "The sun of peace had fairly risen. The incubus of that had pressed upon the nation's heart for four

ary years was lifted; and the nation sprang to its feet
h all possible demonstrations of joyous exultation."
Mr. Lincoln himself had gone to the scene of hostilities
Virginia. He watched the various military manœuvres
l operations, which involved momentous consequences
the country; he witnessed some of the bloody engage-
nts participated in by the army of the Potomac. Within
ay after its surrender he followed the victorious Union
ıy into the city of Richmond. In this unfortunate city
nce the proud capital of Virginia—now smoking and in
ns, he beheld the real horrors of grim war. Here too
realized in a bountiful measure the earnest gratitude of
colored people, who everywhere crowded around him
l with cries of intense exultation greeted him as their
iverer. He now returned to Washington, not like Na-
eon fleeing sorrowfully from Waterloo bearing the tid-
s of his own defeat, but with joy proclaiming the era
Union victory and peace among men. "The war was
r. The great rebellion which for four long years had
n assailing the nation's life was quelled. Richmond,
rebel capital, was taken; Lee's army had surrendered;
l the flag of the Union was floating in reassured su-
macy over the whole of the National domain. Friday,
14th of April, the anniversary of the surrender of Fort
nter in 1861 by Major Anderson to the rebel forces,
l been designated by the Government as the day on
ch the same officer should again raise the American flag
n the fort in the presence of an assembled multitude,
l with ceremonies befitting so auspicious an occasion.
e whole land rejoiced at the return of peace and the
spect of renewed prosperity to the country. President
coln shared this common joy, but with a deep intensity
eeling which no other man in the whole land could ever
w. He saw the full fruition of the great work which
rested so heavily on his hands and heart for four years
t. He saw the great task—as momentous as had ever
en to the lot of man—which he had approached with
h unfeigned diffidence, nearly at an end. The agonies

of war had passed away; he had won the imperishable
nown which is the reward of those who save their co
try; and he could devote himself now to the welcome t
of healing the wounds which war had made, and cons
dating by a wise and magnanimous policy the severed
tions of our common Union. His heart was full of
generous sentiments which these circumstances were
well calculated to inspire. He was cheerful and hop
of the success of his broad plans for the treatment of
conquered people of the South. With all the warmth of
loving nature, after the four years of storm thro
which he had been compelled to pass, he viewed the pe
ful sky on which the opening of his second term had daw
His mind was free from forebodings and filled only
thoughts of kindness and of future peace." But alas
the vanity of human confidence! The demon of assass
tion lurked near. In the midst of the general rejoicin
the return of peace Mr. Lincoln was stricken down by
assassin, John Wilkes Booth, in Ford's Theatre at Wa
ington. The story of his death, though oft repeated, is
saddest and most impressive page in American history
cannot well forbear reproducing its painful and tragic
tails here.[7]

"Mr. Lincoln for years had a presentiment that he w
reach a high place and then be stricken down in s
tragic way. He took no precautions to keep out of the
of danger. So many threats had been made against
that his friends were alarmed, and frequently urged
not to go out unattended. To all their entreaties he
the same answer: 'If they kill me the next man wil
just as bad for them. In a country like this, where
habits are simple, and must be, assassination is alv
possible, and will come if they are determined upon it.

"Whatever premonition of his tragic fate he may
had, there is nothing to prove that he felt the nearnes
the awful hour. Doomed men rise and go about their
duties as unoppressed, often, as those whose paths k

[7] Jesse W. Weik credited this account of the assassinati
Mrs. Gertrude Garrison of New York.

shadow. On that never-to-be-forgotten 14th of April
esident Lincoln passed the day in the usual manner. In
morning his son, Captain Robert Lincoln, breakfasted
h him. The young man had just returned from the
itulation of Lee, and he described in detail all the cir-
nstances of that momentous episode of the close of the
r, to which the President listened with the closest inter-
. After breakfast the President spent an hour with
eaker Colfax, talking about his future policy, about to
submitted to his Cabinet. At eleven o'clock he met the
binet. General Grant was present. He spent the after-
on with Governor Oglesby, Senator Yates, and other
ends from Illinois. He was invited by the manager of
rd's theatre, in Washington to attend in the evening a
formance of the play, 'Our American Cousin,' with
ura Keene as the leading lady. This play, now so well
own to all play-goers, in which the late Sothern after-
rd made fortune and fame, was then comparatively un-
alded. Lincoln was fond of the drama. Brought up in
rovincial way, in the days when theatres were unknown
side of the larger cities, the beautiful art of the actor
s fresh and delightful to him. He loved Shakespeare,
l never lost an opportunity of seeing his character
dered by the masters of dramatic art. But on that
ning, it is said, he was not eager to go. The play was
v, consequently not alluring to him; but he yielded to
wishes of Mrs. Lincoln and went. They took with
m Miss Harris and Major Rathbone, daughter and
son of Senator Harris, of New York.

The theatre was crowded. At 9:20 the President and
party entered. The audience rose and cheered en-
siastically as they passed to the 'state box' reserved for
m. Little did anyone present dream that within the
ir enthusiasm would give place to shrieks of horror. It
s ten o'clock when Booth came upon the scene to enact
last and greatest tragedy of the war. He had planned
efully, but not correctly. A good horse awaited him at
rear of the theatre, on which he intended to ride into
ndly shelter among the hills of Maryland. He made his

way to the President's box—a double one in the sec
tier, at the left of the stage. The separating partition
been removed, and both boxes thrown into one.

"Booth entered the theatre nonchalantly, glanced at
stage with apparent interest, then slowly worked his
around into the outer passage leading toward the
occupied by the President. At the end of an inner pas
leading to the box door, one of the President's 'mes
gers' was stationed to prevent unwelcome intrusi
Booth presented a card to him, stating that Mr. Lin
had sent for him, and was permitted to pass. After g
ing an entrance and closing the hall door, he took a p
of board prepared for the occasion, and placed one en
it in an indentation in the wall, about four feet from
floor, and the other against the molding of the door p
a few inches higher, making it impossible for any on
enter from without. The box had two doors. He b
a gimlet hole in the panel of one, reaming it out with
knife, so as to leave it a little larger than a buckshot on
inside, while on the other side it was big enough to
his eye a wide range. Both doors had spring locks.
secure against their being locked he had loosened
screws with which the bolts were fastened.

"So deliberately had he planned that the very seat
the box had been arranged to suit his purpose by an
complice, one Spangler, an attache of the theatre.
President sat in the left-hand corner of the box, nea
the audience, in an easy arm-chair. Next to him, on
right, sat Mrs. Lincoln. A little distance to the righ
both, Miss Harris was seated, with Major Rathbone at
left, and a little in the rear of Mrs. Lincoln, who, in
on the play, was leaning forward, with one hand res
on her husband's knee. The President was leaning
one hand, and with the other was toying with a portio
the drapery. His face was partially turned to the audie
and wore a pleasant smile.

"The assassin swiftly entered the box through the
at the right, and the next instant fired. The ball ent
just behind the President's left ear, and, though not

ıcing instantaneous death, completely obliterated all con-
ıousness.

"Major Rathbone heard the report, and an instant later
w the murderer, about six feet from the President, and
applied with him, but his grasp was shaken off. Booth
opped his pistol and drew a long, thin, deadly-looking
ife, with which he wounded the major. Then, touching
s left hand to the railing of the box, he vaulted over to
e stage, eight or nine feet below. In that descent an
ılooked-for and curious thing happened, which foiled all
e plans of the assassin and was the means of bringing
m to bay at last. Lincoln's box was draped with the
merican flag, and Booth, in jumping, caught his spur in
s folds, tearing it down and spraining his ankle. He
ouched as he fell, falling upon one knee, but soon
raightened himself and stalked theatrically across the
age, brandishing his knife and shouting the State motto
Virginia, 'Sic semper tyrannis!' afterward adding, 'The
ıuth is avenged!' He made his exit on the opposite side
the stage, passing Miss Keene as he went out. A man
ımed Stewart, a tall lawyer of Washington, was the only
ırson with presence of mind enough to spring upon the
age and follow him, and he was too late.

"It had all been done so quickly and dramatically that
any in the audience were dazed, and could not understand
at anything not a part of the play had happened. When,
last, the awful truth was known to them there ensued a
ene, the like of which was never known in a theatre be-
re. Women shrieked, sobbed, and fainted. Men cursed
d raved, or were dumb with horror and amazement. Miss
eene stepped to the front and begged the frightened and
smayed audience to be calm. Then she entered the
esident's box with water and stimulants. Medical aid
ıs summoned and came with flying feet, but came too
e. The murderer's bullet had done its wicked work well.
ıe President hardly stirred in his chair, and never spoke
showed any signs of consciousness again.

"They carried him immediately to the house of Mr.

Petersen, opposite the theatre, and there at 7:22 the ne
morning, the 15th of April, he died.

"The night of Lincoln's assassination was a memoral
one in Washington. Secretary Seward was attacked a
wounded while lying in bed with a broken arm.

"The murder of the President put the authorities
their guard against a wide-reaching conspiracy, and thr
the public into a state of terror. The awful event was f
even by those who knew not of it. Horsemen clatter
through the silent streets of Washington, spreading t
sad tidings, and the telegraph wires carried the terri
story everywhere. The nation awakened from its dre
of peace on the 15th of April, 1865, to learn that
protector, leader, friend, and restorer had been laid l
by a stage-mad 'avenger.' W. O. Stoddard, in his 'L
of Lincoln,' says: 'It was as if there had been a death
every house throughout the land. By both North a
South alike the awful news was received with a shudd
and a momentary spasm of unbelief. Then followed c
of the most remarkable spectacles in the history of t
human race, for there is nothing else at all like it
record. Bells had tolled before at the death of a lo
ruler, but never did all bells toll so mournfully as they
that day. Business ceased. Men came together in pul
meetings as if by a common impulse, and party lines a
sectional hatreds seemed to be obliterated.'

"The assassination took place on Friday evening, a
on the following Sunday funeral services were held in
the churches in the land, and every church was draped
mourning."

The death of Mr. Lincoln was an indescribable sh
to his fellow countrymen. The exultation of victory o
the final and successful triumph of Union arms was s
denly changed to the lamentations of grief. In ev
household throughout the length and breadth of the l
there was a dull and bitter agony as the telegraph b
tidings of the awful deed. The public heart, filled w
joy over the news from Appomattox, now sank low w
a sacred terror as the sad tidings from the Capital ca

n. In the great cities of the land all business instantly eased. Flags dropped half-mast from every winged messenger of the sea, from every church spire, and from very public building. Thousands upon thousands, drawn y a common feeling, crowded around every place of public esort and listened eagerly to whatever any public speaker nose to say. Men met in the streets and pressed each ther's hands in silence, and burst into tears. The whole ation, which the previous day had been jubilant and opeful, was precipitated into the depths of a profound nd tender woe. It was a memorable spectacle to the orld—a whole nation plunged into heartfelt grief and e deepest sorrow.

The body of the dead President, having been embalmed, as removed from the house in which the death occurred the White House, and there appropriate funeral services ere held. After the transfer of the remains to the Capol, where the body was exposed to view in the Rotunda or a day, preparations were made for the journey to the ome of the deceased in Illinois. On the following day April 21) the funeral train left Washington amid the ilent grief of the thousands who had gathered to witness s departure. At all the great cities along the route stops ere made, and an opportunity was given the people to ook on the face of the illustrious dead. The passage of is funeral train westward through country, village, and ity, winding across the territory of vast States, along a rack of more than fifteen hundred miles, was a pageant ithout a parallel in the history of the continent or the orld. At every halt in the sombre march vast crowds, uch as never before had collected together, filed past the atafalque for a glimpse of the dead chieftain's face. armers left their farms, workmen left their shops, soieties and soldiers marched in solid columns, and the great ties poured forth their population in countless masses. rom Washington the funeral train moved to Baltimore, ence to Harrisburg, Philadelphia, New York, Albany, uffalo, Cleveland, Columbus, Indianapolis, Chicago, and last to Springfield.

As the funeral cortege passed through New York it
reverently gazed upon by a mass of humanity impos
to enumerate. No ovation could be so eloquent as
spectacle of the vast population, hushed and barehea
under the bright spring sky, gazing upon his coffin. I
coln's own words over the dead at Gettysburg came
many as the stately car went by: "The world will little r
nor long remember what we say here, but it can never f
get what they did here."

It was remembered, too, that on the 22d of Febru
1861, as he raised the American flag over Independe
Hall, in Philadelphia, he spoke of the sentiment in
Declaration of Independence which gave liberty not c
to this country, but "I hope," he said, "to the world
all future time. But if this country cannot be saved w
out giving up that principle, I was about to say I wo
rather be assassinated upon this spot than surrender i

When he died the veil that hid his greatness was t
aside, and the country then knew what it had posse
and lost in him. A New York paper, of April 29, 1
said: "No one who personally knew him but will
feel that the deep, furrowed sadness of his face see
to forecast his fate. The genial gentleness of his man
his homely simplicity, the cheerful humor that never fa
are now seen to have been but the tender light that pla
around the rugged heights of his strong and noble nat
It is small consolation that he died at the moment of
war when he could best be spared, for no nation is
ready for the loss of such a friend. But it is somet
to remember that he lived to see slow day breaking.
Moses, he had marched with us through the wilder
From the height of patriotic vision he beheld the go
fields of the future waving in peace and plenty.
beheld, and blessed God, but was not to enter in."

In a discourse delivered on Lincoln on the 23d of
month, Henry Ward Beecher said:

"And now the martyr is moving in triumphal ma
mightier than when alive. The nation rises up at e
stage of his coming. Cities and states are his pall-bea

nd the cannon speaks the hours with solemn progression. ead, dead, dead, he yet speaketh. Is Washington dead? Hampden dead? Is any man that was ever fit to live ad? Disenthralled of flesh, risen to the unobstructed here where passion never comes, he begins his illimitable ork. His life is now grafted upon the infinite, and will fruitful as no earthly life can be. Pass on, thou that st overcome. Ye people, behold the martyr whose blood, so many articulate words, pleads for fidelity, for law, liberty."

The funeral train reached Springfield on the 3d of May. he casket was borne to the State House and placed in epresentative Hall—the very chamber in which in 1854 e deceased had pronounced that fearful invective against e sin of human slavery. The doors were thrown open, e coffin lid was removed, and we who had known the ustrious dead in other days, and before the nation lay s claim upon him, moved sadly through and looked for e last time on the silent, upturned face of our departed iend. All day long and through the night a stream of eople filed reverently by the catafalque. Some of them ere his colleagues at the bar; some his old friends from ew Salem; some crippled soldiers fresh from the battle-lds of the war; and some were little children who, scarce alizing the impressiveness of the scene, were destined to e and tell their children yet to be born the sad story of ncoln's death.

At ten o'clock in the morning of the second day, as a oir of two-hundred-and-fifty voices sang "Peace, roubled Soul," the lid of the casket was shut down for-er. The remains were borne outside and placed in a arse, which moved at the head of a procession in charge General Joseph Hooker to Oak Ridge Cemetery. There shop Matthew Simpson delivered an eloquent and im-essive funeral oration, and Rev. Dr. Gurley, of Washing-n, offered up the closing prayer. While the choir chanted Unveil Thy Bosom, Faithful Tomb," the vault door ened and received to its final rest all that was mortal of raham Lincoln.

"It was soon known that the murder of Lincoln was
result of a conspiracy which had for its victims Secret
Seward and probably Vice-President Johnson, Secret
Stanton, General Grant, and perhaps others. Booth
left a card for Mr. Johnson the day before, possibly w
the intention of killing him. Mr. Seward received wou
from which he soon recovered. Grant, who was to h
accompanied Lincoln to the theatre on the night of
assassination, and did not, escaped unassailed. The g
eral conspiracy was poorly planned and lamely execu
It involved about twenty-five persons. Mrs. Surr
David C. Herold, Lewis Payne, Edward Spangler, Mic
O'Laughlin, J. W. Atzerodt, Samuel Arnold, and
Samuel Mudd, who set Booth's leg, which was disloca
by the fall from the stage-box, were among the num
captured and tried.

"After the assassination Booth escaped unmolested f
the theatre, mounted his horse, and rode away, acc
panied by Herold, into Maryland. Cavalrymen scou
the country, and eleven days after the shooting discov
them in a barn on Garrett's farm, near Fort Royal on
Rappahannock. The soldiers surrounded the barn and
manded a surrender. After the second demand He
surrendered, under a shower of curses from Booth,
Booth refused, declaring that he would never be ta
alive. The captain of the squad then fired the barn.
correspondent thus describes the scene:

" 'The blaze lit up the recesses of the great barn
every wasp's nest and cobweb in the roof were lumin
flinging streaks of red and violet across the tumbled f
gear in the corner. They tinged the beams, and upr
columns, the barricades, where clover and timothy
high held toward the hot incendiary their separate str
for the funeral pile. They bathed the murderer's ret
in a beautiful illumination, and, while in bold outlines
figure stood revealed, they rose like an impenetrable
to guard from sight the hated enemy who lit them.
hind the blaze, with his eye to a crack, Colonel Co
saw Wilkes Booth standing upright upon a crutch.

he gleam of fire Booth dropped his crutch and carbine, nd on both hands crept up to the spot to espy the incen- iary and shoot him dead. His eyes were lustrous with ever, and swelled and rolled in terrible beauty, while his eeth were fixed and he wore the expression of one in the almness before frenzy. In vain he peered, with ven- eance in his look; the blaze that made him visible con- ealed his enemy. A second he turned glaring at the fire, s if to leap upon it and extinguish it, but it had made uch headway that be dismissed the thought. As calmly as pon the battle-field a veteran stands amidst the hail of all and shell and plunging iron, Booth turned and pushed he door, carbine in poise, and the last resolve of death, hich we name despair, set on his high, bloodless forehead.

" 'Just then Sergeant Boston Corbett fired through a revice and shot Booth in the neck. He was carried out f the barn and laid upon the grass, and there died about our hours afterwards. Before his misguided soul passed nto the silence of death he whispered something which ieutenant Baker bent down to hear. "Tell mother I die or my country," he said, faintly. Reviving a moment ater he repeated the words, and added, "I thought I did or the best."

" 'His days of hiding and fleeing from his pursuers had eft him pale, haggard, dirty, and unkempt. He had cut off is mustache and cropped his hair close to his head, and he nd Herold both wore the Confederate gray uniform.'

"Booth's body was taken to Washington, and a post ortem examination of it held on board the monitor *Mon- uk*, and on the night of the 27th of April it was given charge of two men in a rowboat, who, it is claimed, isposed of it in secrecy—how, none but themselves know. umerous stories have been told of the final resting-place f that hated dead man. Whoever knows the truth of it lls it not.

"Sergeant Corbett, who shot Booth, fired without orders. he last instructions given by Colonel Baker to Colonel onger and Lieutenant Baker were: 'Don't shoot Booth, ut take him alive.' Corbett was something of a fanatic,

and for a breach of discipline had once been court-m
tialled and sentenced to be shot. The order, however, v
not executed, but he had been drummed out of the re
ment. He belonged to Company L, of the Sixteenth N
York Cavalry. He was English by birth, but was brou
up in this country, and learned the trade of hat finish
While living in Boston he joined the Methodist Episco
Church. Never having been baptized, he was at a l
to know what name to adopt, but after making it a subj
of prayer he took the name of Boston, in honor of
place of his conversion. He was ever undisciplined a
erratic. He is said to be living in Kansas, and draw
pension from the Government.

"Five of the conspirators were tried, and three, Pay
Herold, and Mrs. Surratt, were hanged. Dr. Mudd
sent to the Dry Tortugas for a period of years, and th
did such good work among the yellow-fever suffers dur
an epidemic that he was pardoned and returned to t
country. He died only about two years ago at his ho
in Maryland, near Washington. Atzerodt was sent to
Dry Tortugas also, and died there years ago. John Sur
fled to Italy, and there entered the Papal guards. He
discovered by Archbishop Hughes, and by the courtesy
the Italian Government, though the extradition laws
not cover this case, was delivered over to the Uni
States for trial. At his first trial the jury hung; at
second, in which Edwards Pierrepont was the Governm
counsel, Surratt got off on the plea of limitations.
undertook to lecture, and began at Rockville, Md.
Evening Star, of Washington, reported the lecture, wh
was widely copied, and was of such a feeble character
it killed him as a lecturer. He went to Baltimore, wh
it is said, he still lives. Spangler, the scene-shifter,
was an accomplice of Booth, was sent to the Dry Tortu
served out his term and died about ten years
McLaughlin, who was arrested because of his acquainta
with the conspirators, was sent to the Dry Tortugas
there died.

"Ford's Theatre was never played in after that mem

e night. Ten or twelve days after the assassination Ford ttempted to open it, but Stanton prevented it, and the overnment bought the theatre for $100,000, and conrted it into a medical museum. Ford was a Southern mpathizer. He ran two theatres until four years ago, ne in Washington and one in Baltimore. Alison Naylor, e livery man who let Booth have his horse, still lives in Vashington. Major Rathbone, who was in the box with incoln when he was shot, died within the last four years. tewart, the man who jumped on the stage to follow ooth, and announced to the audience that he had escaped rough the alley, died lately. Strange, but very few perns can now be found who were at the theatre that night. aura Keene died a few years ago.

"Booth the assassin was the third son of the eminent nglish tragedian Junius Brutus Booth, and the brother f the equally renowned Edwin Booth. He was only venty-six years old when he figured as the chief actor in is horrible drama. He began his dramatic career as John Vilkes, and as a stock actor gained a fair reputation, but ad not achieved any special success. He had played iefly in the South and West, and but a few times in New ork. Some time before the assassination of Lincoln he ad abandoned his profession on account of a bronchial ffection. Those who knew him and saw him on that fatal riday say that he was restless, like one who, consciously unconsciously, was overshadowed by some awful fate. e knew that the President and his party intended to be esent at Ford's theatre in the evening, and he asked an quaintance if he should attend the performance, remarkg that if he did he would see some unusually fine acting. e was a handsome man. His eyes were large and dark, s hair dark and inclined to curl, his features finely oulded, his form tall, and his address pleasing."

Frederick Stone, counsel for Herold after Booth's death, authority for the statement that the occasion for Linln's assassination was the sentiment expressed by the esident in a speech delivered from the steps of the hite House on the night of April 11, when he said: "If

universal amnesty is granted to the insurgents I cannot
how I can avoid exacting in return universal suffrage,
at least suffrage on the basis of intelligence and milit
service." Booth was standing before Mr. Lincoln on
outskirts of the crowd. "That means nigger citizenshi
he said to Herold by his side. "Now, by God! I'll
him through." But whatever may have been the incenti
Booth seemed to crave the reprehensible fame that attac
to a bold and dramatically wicked deed. He may, it is tr
have been mentally unhinged, but, whether sane or sen
less, he made for himself an infamous and endless no
riety when he murdered the patient, forbearing man w
had directed our ship of state through the most temp
tuous waters it ever encountered.

In the death of Lincoln the South, prostrate and ble
ing, lost a friend; and his unholy taking-off at the v
hour of the assured supremacy of the Union cause ran
iron into the heart of the North. His sun went down s
denly, and whelmed the country in a darkness which
felt by every heart; but far up the clouds sprang ap
and soon the golden light, flooding the heavens with ra
ance, illuminated every uncovered brow with the hope c
fair tomorrow. His name will ever be the watchword
liberty. His work is finished, and sealed forever with
veneration given to the blood of martyrs. Yesterda
man reviled and abused, a target for the shafts of ma
and hatred: today an apostle. Yesterday a power: to
a prestige, sacred, irresistible. The life and the tra
death of Mr. Lincoln mark an epoch in history from wh
dates the unqualified annunciation by the American pe
of the greatest truth in the bible of republicanism—the
keystone of that arch of human rights which is destine
overshadow and remodel every government upon the ea
The glorious brightness of that upper world, as it welco
his faint and bleeding spirit, broke through upon the e
at his exit—it was drawn of a day growing brighter as
grand army of freedom follows in the march of time

Lincoln's place in history will be fixed—aside from
personal characteristics—by the events and results of

ar. As a great political leader who quelled a rebellion of ght millions of people, liberated four millions of slaves, id demonstrated to the world the ability of the people to aintain a government of themselves, by themselves, for emselves, he will assuredly occupy no insignificant place. To accomplish the great work of preserving the Union st the land a great price. Generations of Americans yet born, and humanity everywhere, for years to come will ourn the horrors and sacrifices of the first civil war in the nited States; but above the blood of its victims, above e bones of its dead, above the ashes of desolate hearths, ill arise the colossal figure of Abraham Lincoln as the ost acceptable sacrifice offered by the nineteenth century expiation of the great crime of the seventeenth. Above l the anguish and tears of that immense hecatomb will pear the shade of Lincoln as the symbol of hope and of rdon.

This is the true lesson of Lincoln's life: real and endur- g greatness, that will survive the corrosion and abrasion time, of change, and of progress, must rest upon char- ter. In certain brilliant and what is understood to be ost desirable endowments how many Americans have sur- ssed him. Yet how he looms above them all! Not oquence, nor logic, nor grasp of thought; not states- anship, nor power of command, nor courage; not any r all of these have made him what he is, but these, in e degree in which he possessed them, conjoined to those alities comprised in the term character, have given him s fame—have made him for all time to come the great merican, the grand, central figure in American—perhaps e world's—history.

CHAPTER TWENT

SOON AFTER THE DEATH OF MR. LINCOLN DR. J. G. H
land came out to Illinois from his home in Massachuse
to gather up materials for a life of the dead Preside
The gentleman spent several days with me, and I g
him all the assistance that lay in my power. I was m
pleased with him, and awaited with not a little inter
the appearance of his book. I felt sure that even af
my long and intimate acquaintance with Mr. Lincol
never fully knew and understood him, and I theref
wondered what sort of a description Dr. Holland, af
interviewing Lincoln's old-time friends, would make
his individual characteristics. When the book appea
he said this: "The writer has conversed with multitu
of men who claimed to know Mr. Lincoln intimately:
there are not two of the whole number who agree in th
estimate of him. The fact was that he rarely sho
more than one aspect of himself to one man. He ope
himself to men in different directions. To illustrate
effect of the peculiarity of Mr. Lincoln's intercourse w
men it may be said that men who knew him through
his professional and political life offered opinions as
metrically opposite as these, *viz.:* that he was a very
bitious man, and that he was without a particle of ambiti
that he was one of the saddest men that ever lived,
that he was one of the jolliest men that ever lived;
he was very religious, but that he was not a Christ
that he was a Christian, but did not know it; that he

[1] This chapter is in large part a condensation of the
ectures which Herndon delivered in Springfield in the w
of 1865-66. See Editor's Preface, p. xxviii.

o far from being a religious man or a Christian that 'the ss said upon that subject the better'; that he was the ost cunning man in America, and that he had not a rticle of cunning in him; that he had the strongest per- nal attachments, and that he had no personal attach- ents at all—only a general good feeling towards every- dy; that he was a man of indomitable will, and that he as a man almost without a will; that he was a tyrant, and at he was the softest-hearted, most brotherly man that er lived; that he was remarkable for his pure-minded- ss, and that he was the foulest in his jests and stories f any man in the country; that he was a witty man, and at he was only a retailer of the wit of others; that his pparent candor and fairness were only apparent, and at they were as real as his head and his hands; that he was boor, and that he was in all respects a gentleman; that e was a leader of the people, and that he was always led y the people; that he was cool and impassive, and that e was susceptible of the strongest passions. It is only y tracing these separate streams of impression back to eir fountain that we are able to arrive at anything like competent comprehension of the man, or to learn why e came to be held in such various estimation. Men caught nly separate aspects of his character—only the frag- ents that were called into exhibition by their own qual- ies."[2]

[2] Nothing in Herndon's *Lincoln* has aroused more speculation an the identity of the writer of the following bitter estimate Lincoln's character. At one time or another almost every torney with whom Lincoln ever came in contact has been spected of its authorship. However, in 1926 Dr. William E. rton published a solution of the mystery. Among the Lamon pers in the Henry E. Huntington Library is a copy of this cument which bears on its margins the penciled initials . B. H." This points unmistakably to Elliott B. Herndon, illiam H. Herndon's brother, an able lawyer and an uncom- omising political opponent of Lincoln. Dr. Barton points out at William H. Herndon inserted the word "lawyer" in the st sentence in order to conceal the identity of the writer. The mon copy simply states that the estimate was written at "the quest of a brother." He also condensed the original document

Dr. Holland had only found what Lincoln's frie
had always experienced in their relations with him—t
he was a man of many moods and many sides. He ne
revealed himself entirely to any one man, and theref
he will always to a certain extent remain enveloped
doubt. Even those who were with him through long ye
of hard study and under constantly varying circumstan
can hardly say they knew him through and through.
always believed I could read him as thoroughly as
man, and yet he was so different in many respects fr

somewhat and made several verbal changes. These, howe
resulted in no material modification of the writer's meaning.

"I beg to note here in passing," the original footnote re
"the estimate of Lincoln's mind and character by one of
colleagues at the bar in Springfield who still survives, but wh
name, for certain reasons, I am constrained to withhold. I
retain the original MS. written by him twenty years ago.
am particularly requested,' he says, 'to write out my opinion
the mind of Abraham Lincoln, late President of the Un
States, and I consent to do so without any other motive
to comply with the request of a brother lawyer, for, if I k
myself, no other motive would induce me to do it, because, w
Mr. Lincoln and I were always good friends, I believe my
wholly indifferent to the future of his memory. The opinio
now have was formed by a personal and professional acquaint
of over ten years, and has not been altered or influenced
any of his promotions in public life. The adulation by
multitudes of a living, and the pageantry surrounding a c
President do not shake my well-settled convictions of the m
mental calibre. Physiologically and phrenologically the man
a sort of monstrosity. His frame was large, long, bony
muscular; his head, small and disproportionately shaped.
had large, square jaws; large, heavy nose; small, lascivious mo
and soft, tender, bluish eyes. I would say he was a cross bet
Venus and Hercules. I believe it to be inconsistent with
laws of human organization for any such creature to posse
mind capable of anything called great. The man's mind par
of the incongruities of his body. He had no mind not poss
by the most ordinary of men. It was simply the peculiarit
his mental and the oddity of his physical structure, as we
the qualities of his heart that singled him out from the
of men. His native love of justice, truth, and humanity le
mind a great way in the accomplishment of his objects in
That passion or sentiment steadied and determined an othe
indecisive mind'."

y other one I ever met before or since his time that I nnot say I comprehended him. In this chapter I give y recollection of his individual characteristics as they cur to me, and allow the world to form its own opinion. my recollection of the man destroys any other person's al, I cannot help it. By a faithful and lifelike descrip- n of Lincoln the man, and a study of his peculiar and rsonal traits, perhaps some of the apparent contradic- ns met with by Dr. Holland will have melted from sight. Mr. Lincoln was six feet four inches high, and when left the city of his home for Washington was fifty- e years old, having good health and no gray hairs, or t few, on his head. He was thin, wiry, sinewy, raw- ned; thin through the breast to the back, and narrow ross the shoulders; standing he leaned forward—was at may be called stoop-shouldered, inclining to the con- mptive by build. His usual weight was one hundred d eighty pounds. His organization—rather his struc- re and functions—worked slowly. His blood had to n a long distance from his heart to the extremities of frame, and his nerve force had to travel through dry ound a long distance before his muscles were obedient to will. His structure was loose and leathery; his body s shrunk and shriveled; he had dark skin, dark hair, d looked woe-struck. The whole man, body and mind, rked slowly, as if it needed oiling. Physically he was very powerful man, lifting with ease four hundred, d in one case six hundred pounds. His mind was like body, and worked slowly but strongly. Hence there s very little bodily or mental wear and tear in him. is peculiarity in his construction gave him great ad- ntage over other men in public life. No man in Amer- —scarcely a man in the world—could have stood what ncoln did in Washington and survived through more n one term of the Presidency.

When he walked he moved cautiously but firmly; his g arms and giant hands swung down by his side. He lked with even tread, the inner sides of his feet being rallel. He put the whole foot flat down on the ground at

once, not landing on the heel; he likewise lifted his f all at once, not rising from the toe, and hence he had spring to his walk. His walk was undulatory—catch and pocketing tire, weariness, and pain, all up and do his person, and thus preventing them from locating. T first impression of a stranger, or a man who did not serve closely, was that his walk implied shrewdness a cunning—that he was a tricky man; but, in reality, it w the walk of caution and firmness. In sitting down or common chair he was no taller than ordinary men. H legs and arms were abnormally, unnaturally long, and undue proportion to the remainder of his body. It w only when he stood up that he loomed above other m

Mr. Lincoln's head was long, and tall from the base the brain and from the eyebrows. His head ran ba wards, his forehead rising as it ran back at a low ang like Clay's, and unlike Webster's, which was almost p pendicular. The size of his hat measured at the hatt block was seven and one-eighth, his head being, from to ear, six and one-half inches, and from the front to back of the brain eight inches. Thus measured it was below medium size. His forehead was narrow but hi his hair was dark, almost black, and lay floating wh his fingers or the winds left it, piled up at random. H cheek-bones were high, sharp, and prominent; his ja were long and upcurved; his nose was large, long, blu and a little awry towards the right eye; his chin was sh and upcurved; his eyebrows cropped out like a huge r on the brow of a hill; his long, sallow face was wrink and dry, with a hair here and there on the surface; cheeks were leathery; his ears were large, and ran almost at right angles from his head, caused partly heavy hats and partly by nature; his lower lip was th hanging, and undercurved, while his chin reached for lip upcurved; his neck was neat and trim, his head be well balanced on it; there was the lone mole on the r cheek, and Adam's apple on his throat.

Thus stood, walked, acted, and looked Abraham L coln. He was not a pretty man by any means, nor

e an ugly one; he was a homely man, careless of his oks, plain-looking and plain-acting. He had no pomp, isplay, or dignity, so-called. He appeared simple in his arriage and bearing. He was a sad-looking man; his elancholy dripped from him as he walked. His apparent loom impressed his friends, and created sympathy for im—one means of his great success. He was gloomy, bstracted, and joyous—rather humorous—by turns; but do not think he knew what real joy was for many years.

Lincoln's melancholy never failed to impress any man ho ever saw or knew him. The perpetual look of sad- ess was his most prominent feature. The cause of this eculiar condition was a matter of frequent discussion mong his friends. John T. Stuart said it was due to his bnormal digestion. His liver failed to work properly— id not secrete bile—and his bowels were equally as inac- ve. "I used to advise him to take blue-mass pills," re- ated Stuart, "and he did take them before he went to Vashington, and for five months while he was President, ut when I came on to Congress he told me he had ceased sing them because they made him cross." The reader an hardly realize the extent of this peculiar tendency to loom. One of Lincoln's colleagues in the Legislature of llinois is authority for the statement coming from Lin- oln himself that "this mental depression became so in- ense at times he never dared carry a pocket-knife." Two ings greatly intensified his characteristic sadness: one as the endless succession of troubles in his domestic fe, which he had to bear in silence; and the other was nquestionably the knowledge of his own obscure and wly origin. The recollection of these things burned a eep impress on his sensitive soul.

As to the cause of this morbid condition my idea has ways been that it was occult, and could not be explained y any course of observation and reasoning. It was in- rained, and, being ingrained, could not be reduced to rule, r the cause arrayed. It was necessarily hereditary, but hether it came down from a long line of ancestors and r back, or was simply the reproduction of the saddened

life of Nancy Hanks, cannot well be determined. At a rate it was part of his nature, and could no more be shak off than he could part with his brains.[3]

Mr. Lincoln sometimes walked our streets cheerily, was not always gloomy, and then it was that on meeti a friend he greeted him with a plain "Howd'y?" claspi his hand in both his own, and gave him a hearty so welcome. On a winter's morning he might be seen sta ing towards the market-house, basket on arm, his old gr shawl wrapped around his neck, his little boy Willie Tad running along at his heels asking a thousand boy questions, which his father, in deep abstraction, neitl heeded nor heard.[4] If a friend met or passed him, and

[3] This and the preceding paragraph were footnotes in original edition.

[4] "I lived next door to the Lincoln's for many years, knew family well," said James Gourly in a statement he made Herndon February 9, 1866. "Mr. Lincoln used to come to house, his feet encased in a pair of loose slippers, and with old, faded pair of trousers fastened with one suspender. frequently came to our house for milk. Our rooms were l and he said one day, 'Jim, you'll have to lift your loft a li higher; I can't straighten out under it very well.' To my w who was short of stature, he used to say that little people some advantages: they required less 'wood and wool to m them comfortable.' In his yard Lincoln had but little shrubb He once planted some rose bushes, to which he called my at tion, but soon neglected them altogether. He never plan any vines or fruit trees, seemed to have no fondness for s things. At one time, yielding to my suggestion, he undertook keep a garden in the rear part of his yard, but one seas experience sufficed to cure him of all desire for another. kept his own horse, fed and curried it when at home; he fed and milked his own cow, and sawed his own wood. Lincoln and his wife agreed moderately well. Frequently M Lincoln's temper would get the better of her. If she bec furious, as she often did, her husband tried to pay no atten to her. He would sometimes laugh at her, but generally would pick up one of the children and walk off. I have he her say that if Mr. Lincoln had remained at home more could have loved him better. One day while Mr. Lincoln absent—he had gone to Chicago to try a suit in the United St Court—his wife and I formed a conspiracy to take off the and raise his house. It was originally a frame structure

woke from his reverie, something would remind him of a tory he had heard in Indiana, and tell it he would, and here was no alternative but to listen.

Thus, I repeat, stood and walked and talked this singular man. He was odd, but when that gray eye and that ace and those features were lit up by the inward soul in res of emotion, then it was that all those apparently ugly eatures sprang into organs of beauty or disappeared in e sea of inspiration that often flooded his face. Sometes it appeared as if Lincoln's soul was fresh from its reator.

I have asked the friends and foes of Mr. Lincoln alike hat they thought of his perceptions. One gentleman of nquestioned ability and free from all partiality or prejdice said, "Mr. Lincoln's perceptions were slow, a little erverted, if not somewhat distorted and diseased." If e meaning of this is that Mr. Lincoln saw things from a eculiar angle of his being, and from this was susceptible nature's impulses, and that he so expressed himself, then have no objection to what is said. Otherwise I dissent. Ir. Lincoln's perceptions were slow, cold, clear, and exact. verything came to him in its precise shape and color. To me men the world of matter and of man comes ornaented with beauty, life, and action; and hence more or ss false and inexact. No lurking illusion or other error, lse in itself and clad for the moment in robes of splenor, ever passed undetected or unchallenged over the thresold of his mind—that point which divides vision from the alm and home of thought. Names to him were nothg, and titles naught—assumption always standing back ashed at his cold, intellectual glare. Neither his perptions nor intellectual vision were perverted, distorted, diseased. He saw all things through a perfect mental ns. There was no diffraction or refraction there. He

ory and a half high. When Lincoln returned he met a gentlean on the sidewalk and, looking at his own house and manisting great surprise, inquired: 'Stranger, can you tell me where ncoln lives?' The gentleman gave him the necessary informan, and Lincoln gravely entered his own premises."

was not impulsive, fanciful, or imaginative; but cold, cal
and precise. He threw his whole mental light around t
object, and, after a time, substance and quality stood apa
form and color took their appropriate places, and all w
clear and exact in his mind. His fault, if any, was th
he saw things less than they really were; less beautiful a
more frigid. He crushed the unreal, the inexact, the h
low, and the sham. He saw things in rigidity rather th
in vital action. He saw what no man could dispute, b
he failed to see what might have been seen.

To some minds the world is all life, a soul beneath t
material; but to Mr. Lincoln no life was individual that d
not manifest itself to him. His mind was his standard. H
mental action was deliberate, and he was pitiless and pe
sistent in pursuit of the truth. No error went undetecte
no falsehood unexposed, if he once was aroused in sear
of the truth. The true peculiarity of Mr. Lincoln has n
been seen by his various biographers; or, if seen, th
have failed woefully to give it that importance which
deserves. Newton beheld the law of the universe in t
fall of an apple from a tree to the ground; Owen saw t
animal in its claw; Spencer saw evolution in the growth
a seed; and Shakespeare saw human nature in the lau
of a man. Nature was suggestive to all these men. M
Lincoln no less saw philosophy in a story and an obj
lesson in a joke. His was a new and original positi
one which was always suggesting something to him. T
world and man, principles and facts, all were full of su
gestions to his susceptible soul. They continually put h
in mind of something. His ideas were odd and origi
for the reason that he was a peculiar and original creati
himself.

His power in the association of ideas was as great as
memory was tenacious and strong. His language indica
oddity and originality of vision as well as expressi
Words and language are but the counterparts of the i
—the other half of the idea; they are but the stingi
hot, leaden bullets that drop from the mould; in a ri
with powder stuffed behind them and fire applied, they

embodied force resistlessly pursuing their object. In
e search for words Mr. Lincoln was often at a loss. He
as often perplexed to give proper expression to his ideas;
rst, because he was not master of the English language;
nd secondly, because there were, in the vast store of
ords, so few that contained the exact coloring, power,
nd shape of his ideas. This will account for the frequent
sort by him to the use of stories, maxims, and jokes in
hich to clothe his ideas, that they might be comprehended.
o true was this perculiar mental vision of his that,
ough mankind has been gathering, arranging, and classi-
ing facts for thousands of years, Lincoln's peculiar
andpoint could give him no advantage over other men's
bor. Hence he tore down to their deepest foundations
l arrangements of facts, and constructed new ones to
overn himself. He was compelled from his peculiar
ental organization to do this. His labor was great and
ntinuous.

The truth about Mr. Lincoln is that he read less and
ought more than any man in his sphere in America. No
an can put his finger on any great book written in the last
present century that he read thoroughly. When young
e read the Bible, and when of age he read Shakespeare;
t, though he often quoted from both, he never read
ther one through. He is acknowledged now to have been
great man, but the question is what made him great. I
peat, that he read less and thought more than any man
his standing in America, if not in the world. He
ssessed originality and power of thought in an eminent
gree. Besides his well established reputation for cau-
n, he was concentrated in his thoughts and had great
ntinuity of reflection. In everything he was patient
nd enduring. These are some of the grounds of his
onderful success.

Not only were nature, man, and principle suggestive to
r. Lincoln, not only had he accurate and exact percep-
ns, but he was causative; his mind, apparently with an
tomatic movement, ran back behind facts, principles, and
things to their origin and first cause—to that point

where forces act at once as effect and cause. He would st
in the street and analyze a machine. He would whittle
thing to a point, and then count the numberless inclin
planes and their pitch making the point. Mastering a
defining this, he would then cut that point back and ge
broad transverse section of his pine-stick, and peel and
fine that. Clocks, omnibuses, language, paddle-wheels, a
idioms never escaped his observation and analysis. Befo
he could form an idea of anything, before he would expr
his opinion on a subject, he must know its origin and h
tory in substance and quality, in magnitude and gravi
He must know it inside and outside, upside and downsi
He searched and comprehended his own mind and natu
thoroughly, as I have often heard him say. He must an
lyze a sensation, an idea, and run back in its history to
origin, and purpose. He was remorseless in his analy
of facts and principles. When all these exhaustive pr
esses had been gone through with he could form an id
and express it; but no sooner. He had no faith, and
respect for "say so's," come though they might from t
dition or authority. Thus everything had to run throu
the crucible, and be tested by the fires of his analytic mi
and when at last he did speak, his utterances rang out w
the clear and keen ring of gold upon the counters of
understanding. He reasoned logically through analogy a
comparison. All opponents dreaded his originality of id
his condensation, definition, and force of expression; a
woe be to the man who hugged to his bosom a secret er
if Lincoln got on the chase of it. I repeat, woe to hi
Time could hide the error in no nook or corner of sp
in which he would not detect and expose it.

Though gifted with accurate and acute percepti
though a profound thinker as well as analyzer, still L
coln's judgment on many and minor matters was oft
times childish. By the word judgment I do not mean w
mental philosophers would call the exercise of reason,
—understanding; but I use the term in its popular sense
refer to that capacity or power which decides on the
ness, the harmony, or, if you will, the beauty and app

riateness of things. I have always thought, and metimes said, Lincoln lacked this quality in his mental ructure. He was on the alert if a principle was involved a man's rights at stake in a transaction; but he never uld see the harm in wearing a sack-coat instead of a allowtail to an evening party, nor could he realize the fense of telling a vulgar yarn if a preacher happened to present.

Sometime in 1857 a lady reader or elocutionist came to pringfield and gave a public reading in a hall immediately rth of the State House. As lady lecturers were then re birds, a very large crowd greeted her. Among other ings she recited "Nothing to Wear," a piece in which is scribed the perplexities that beset "Miss Flora McFlimy" in her efforts to appear fashionable. In the midst of ne stanza, in which no effort is made to say anything rticularly amusing, and during the reading of which the udience manifested the most respectful silence and attenon, some one in the rear seats burst out into a loud, coarse ugh—a sudden and explosive guffaw. It startled the peaker and audience, and kindled a storm of unsuppressed ughter and applause. Everyone looked back to ascertain e cause of the demonstration, and was greatly surprised find that it was Mr. Lincoln. He blushed and squirmed ith the awkward diffidence of a schoolboy. What ompted him to laugh no one was able to explain. He as doubtless wrapped up in a brown study, and, recallg some amusing episode, indulged in laughter without alizing his surroundings. The experience mortified him eatly.[5]

As already expressed, Mr. Lincoln had no faith. In der to believe, he must see and feel, and thrust his nd into the place. He must taste, smell, and handle fore he had faith or even belief. Such a mind manifestly ust have its time. His forte and power lay in digging t for himself and securing for his mind its own food, to assimilated unto itself. Thus, in time he would form inions and conclusions that no human power could over-

[5] Original footnote.

throw. They were as irresistible as the rush of a flood; convincing as logic embodied in mathematics. And y the question arises: "Had Mr. Lincoln great, good co mon-sense?" A variety of opinions suggest themselv in answer to this. If the true test is that a man sh judge the rush and whirl of human actions and transa tions as wisely and accurately as though indefinite ti and proper conditions were at his disposal, then I am co pelled to follow the logic of things and admit that he h no great stock of common sense; but if, on the other han the time and conditions were ripe, his common-sense w in every case equal to the emergency. He knew himse and never trusted his dollar or his fame in casual op ions—never acted hastily or prematurely on great matte

Mr. Lincoln believed that the great leading law of h man nature is motive. He reasoned all ideas of a disint ested action out of my mind. I used to hold that action could be pure, disinterested, and wholly free fr selfishness; but he divested me of that delusion. His id was that all human actions were caused by motives, a that at the bottom of these motives was self. He defied to act without motive and unselfishly; and when I did act and told him of it, he analyzed and sifted it to the l grain. After he had concluded, I could not avoid the mission that he had demonstrated the absolute selfishn of the entire act. Although a profound analyzer of laws of human nature he could form no just construct of the motives of the particular individual. He knew little of the play of the features as seen in the "hum face divine." He could not distinguish between the pa ness of anger and the crimson tint of modesty. In det mining what each play of the features indicated he pitiably weak.

The great predominating elements of Mr. Linco peculiar character were: first, his great capacity and po of reason; second, his conscience and his excellent und standing; third, an exalted idea of the sense of right equity; fourth, his intense veneration of the true and good. His conscience, his heart and all the faculties

alities of his mind bowed submissively to the despotism his reason. He lived and acted from the standard of ason—that throne of logic, home of principle—the realm Deity in man. It is from this point Mr. Lincoln must viewed. Not only was he cautious, patient, and endur-; not only had he concentration and great continuity of ught; but he had profound analytical power. His ion was clear, and he was emphatically the master of tement. His pursuit of the truth, as before mentioned, s indefatigable. He reasoned from well-chosen prin-les with such clearness, force, and directness that the lest intellects in the land bowed to him. He was the ongest man I ever saw, looking at him from the ele-ted standpoint of reason and logic. He came down from t height with irresistible and crashing force. His oper Institute and other printed speeches will prove this; t his speeches before the courts—especially the Supreme urt of Illinois—if they had been preserved, would monstrate it still more plainly. Here he demanded time think and prepare. The office of reason is to determine truth. Truth is the power of reason, and Lincoln ed truth for its own sake. It was to him reason's food. Conscience, the second great quality of Mr. Lincoln's aracter, is that faculty which induces in us love of the t. Its real office is justice; right and equity are its relatives. As a court, it is in session continuously; it cides all acts at all times. Mr. Lincoln had a deep, ad, living conscience. His reason, however, was the l judge; it told him what was true or false, and there-e good or bad, right or wrong, just or unjust, and his nscience echoed back the decision. His conscience ruled heart; he was always just before he was generous. cannot be said of any mortal that he was always abso-ely just. Neither was Lincoln always just; but his neral life was. It follows that if Mr. Lincoln had great son and great conscience he must have been an honest n; and so he was. He was rightfully entitled to the ellation "Honest Abe." Honesty was his polar star. Mr. Lincoln also had a good understanding; that is, the

faculty that comprehends the exact state of things determines their relations, near or remote. The und standing does not necessarily inquire for the reason things. While Lincoln was odd and original, while lived out of himself and by himself, and while he co absorb but little from others, yet a reading of his speech messages, and letters satisfies us that he had good und standing. But the strongest point in his make-up was knowledge he had of himself; he comprehended and und stood his own capacity—what he did and why he did i better perhaps than any man of his day. He had a wi and deeper comprehension of his environments, of political conditions especially, than men who were m learned or had had the benefits of a more thorough tra ing.

He was a very sensitive man,—modest to the point diffidence,—and often hid himself in the masses to prev the discovery of his identity. He was not indifferent, h ever, to approbation and public opinion. He had no gusting egotism and no pompous pride, no aristocracy, haughtiness, no vanity. Merging together the qualities his nature he was a meek, quiet, unobtrusive gentleman

As many contradictory opinions prevail in reference Mr. Lincoln's heart and humanity as on the question his judgment. As many persons perhaps contend that was cold and obdurate as that he was warm and affect ate. The first thing the world met in contact with him his head and conscience; after that he exposed the ten side of his nature—his heart, subject at all times to exalted sense of right and equity, namely his conscie In proportion as he held his conscience subject to his h he held his heart subject to his head and conscience. humanity had to defer to his sense of justice and eternal right. His heart was the lowest of these org if we may call them such—the weakest of the three. S men have reversed this order and characterized his h as his ruling organ. This estimate of Mr. Lincoln end him with love regardless of truth, justice, and right. question still is, was Lincoln cold and heartless, or w

nd affectionate? Can a man be all heart, all head, and ll conscience? Some of these are masters over the others, me will be dominant, ruling with imperial sway, and thus iving character to the man. What, in the first place, do e mean by a warm-hearted man? Is it one who goes out f himself and reaches for others spontaneously, seeking o correct some abuse to mankind because of a deep love or humanity, apart from equity and truth, and who does hat he does for love's sake? If so, Mr. Lincoln was a old man. If a man, woman, or child approached him, and ne prayer of such a one was granted, that itself was not vidence of his love. The African was enslaved and de-rived of this right; a principle was violated in doing so. ights imply obligations as well as duties. Mr. Lincoln as President; he was in a position that made it his duty, rough his sense of right, his love of principle, the con-itutional obligations imposed upon him by the oath of ffice, to strike the blow against slavery. But did he do it or love? He has himself answered the question: "I would ot free the slaves if I could preserve the Union without ." When he freed the slaves there was no heart in the t. This argument can be used against his too enthusiastic iends.

In general terms his life was cold—at least characterized y what many persons would deem great indifference. He ad, however, a strong latent capacity to love: but the ob-ct must first come in the guise of a principle, next it must e right and true—then it was lovely in his sight. He loved umanity when it was oppressed—an abstract love as gainst the concrete love centred in an individual. He rely used terms of endearment, and yet he was proverb-lly tender and gentle. He gave the key-note to his own haracter when he said: "With malice towards none, with harity for all." In proportion to his want of deep, in-nse love he had no hate and bore no malice. His charity or an imperfect man was as broad as his devotion to prin-ple was enduring.

"But was not Mr. Lincoln a man of great humanity?" ks a friend at my elbow; to which I reply, "Has not that

question been answered already?" Let us suppose it h not. We must understand each other. What is meant his humanity? Is it meant that he had much of huma nature in him? If so, I grant that he was a man of h manity. If, in the event of the above definition bei unsatisfactory or untrue, it is meant that he was tender a kind, then I again agree. But if the inference is that would sacrifice truth or right in the slightest degree f the love of a friend, then he was neither tender nor kin nor did he have any humanity. The law of human natu is such that it cannot be all head, all conscience, and heart in one person at the same time. Our maker so co stituted things that, where God through reason blazed t way, we might boldly walk therein. The glory of M Lincoln's power lay in the just and magnificent equipoi of head, conscience, and heart; and here his fame mu rest or not at all.

Not only were Mr. Lincoln's perceptions good; not on was nature suggestive to him; not only was he original a strong; not only had he great reason, good understandin not only did he love the true and the good—the eter right; not only was he tender and sympathetic and kin —but, in due proportion and in legitimate subordinatio he had a glorious combination of them all. Through h perceptions—the suggestiveness of nature, his originali and strength; through his magnificent reason, his unde standing, his conscience, his tenderness, quick sympath his heart; he approximated as nearly as human nature a the imperfections of man would permit to an embodime of the great moral principle, "Do unto others as ye wou they should do unto you."

Of Mr. Lincoln's will-power there are two opinio also: one that he lacked any will; the other that he w all will. Both these contradictory views have their hement and honest champions. For the great underlyi principles of mind in man he had great respect. He lov the true first, the right second, and the good last. H mind struggled for truth, and his soul reached out substances. He cared not for forms, ways, methods

he non-substantial things of this world. He could not, y reason of his structure and mental organization, care nything about them. He did not have an intense care or any particular or individual man—the dollars, property, ank, orders, manners, or similar things; neither did he ave any avarice or other like vice in his nature. He letested somewhat all technical rules in law, philosophy, nd other sciences—mere forms everywhere—because they vere, as a general thing, founded on arbitrary thoughts nd ideas, and not on reason, truth, and the right. These hings seemed to him lacking in substance, and he disre-arded them because they cramped the originality of his enius. What suited a little narrow, critical mind did ot suit Mr. Lincoln any more than a child's clothes would it his father's body. Generally he took no interest in town ffairs or local elections; he attended no meetings that per-ained to local interests. He did not care—because by rea-on of his nature he could not—who succeeded to the residency of this or that society or railroad company; vho made the most money; who was going to Philadel-hia, and what were the costs of such a trip; who was oing to be married; who among his friends got this of-ice or that—who was elected street commissioner or ealth inspector. No principle of truth, right, or justice eing involved in any of these things he could not be noved by them.[6] He could not understand why men strug-led so desperately for the little glory or lesser salary the mall offices afforded. He made this remark to me one ay in Washington: "If ever this free people—this Gov-

[6] "A bitter, maligant fool," wrote Herndon in a footnote to his sentence, "who always had opposed Lincoln and his friends, nd had lost no opportunity to abuse them, induced Lincoln to o to the Governor of Illinois and recommend him for an im-ortant office in the State Militia. There being no principle at ake Lincoln did not refuse the request. When his friends heard f it they were furious in their denunciation of his action. It ortified him greatly to learn that he had displeased them. 'And et,' he said, a few days later, dwelling on the matter to me in e office, 'I couldn't well refuse the little the fellow asked of me. ometimes I feel,' he added dryly, 'that it's a good thing I asn't born a woman'."

ernment—is utterly demoralized, it will come from th
human struggle for office—a way to live without work
It puzzled him a good deal, he said, to get at the root
this dreaded disease, which spread like contagion during t
nation's death struggle.

Because he could not feel a deep interest in the thin
referred to, nor manifest the same interest in those wh
were engaged in the popular scramble, he was called i
different—nay, ungrateful—to his friends. This estima
of the man was a very unjust as well as unfair one. M
Lincoln loved his friends with commendable loyalty;
many cases he clung to them tenaciously, like iron to ir
welded; and yet, because he could not be actively arouse
nor enter into the spirit of their anxiety for office, he w
called ungrateful. But he was not so. He may ha
seemed passive and lacking in interest; he may not ha
measured his friendly duties by the applicant's hot desir
but yet he was never ungrateful. Neither was he a selfi
man. He would never have performed an act, even
promote himself to the Presidency, if by that act a
human being was wronged. If it is said that he preferr
Abraham Lincoln to anyone else in the pursuit of his a
bition, and that because of this he was a selfish man, th
I can see no impropriety in the charge. Under the sa
conditions we should all be equally guilty.

Remembering that Mr. Lincoln's mind moved logical
slowly, and cautiously, the question of his will and
power is easily solved. Although he cared but little f
simple facts, rules, and methods, he did care for the tru
and right of principle. In debate he courteously grant
all the forms and non-essential things to his oppone
Sometimes he yielded nine points out of ten. The nine
brushed aside as husks or rubbish; but the tenth, being
question of substance, he clung to with all his might.
the underlying principles of truth and justice his will w
as firm as steel and as tenacious as iron. It was as sol
real, and vital as an idea on which the world turns.
scorned to support or adopt an untrue position, in p

ortion as his conscience prevented him from doing an ijust thing. Ask him to sacrifice in the slightest degree s convictions of truth[7]—as he was asked to do when he ade his "house-divided-against-itself speech"—and his ul would have exclaimed with indignant scorn, "The orld perish first!"

Such was Lincoln's will. Because on one line of ques-ons—the non-essential—he was pliable, and on the other was as immovable as the rocks, have arisen the contra-ctory notions prevalent regarding him. It only remains say that he was inflexible and unbending in human ansactions when it was necessary to be so, and not other-ise. At one moment he was pliable and expansive as ntle air; at the next as tenacious and unyielding as avity itself.

Thus I have traced Mr. Lincoln through his perceptions, s suggestiveness, his judgment, and his four predomi-nt qualities: power of reason, understanding, conscience, d heart. In the grand review of his peculiar character-tics, nothing creates such an impressive effect as his love the truth. It looms up over everything else. His life proof of the assertion that he never yielded in his funda-ental conception of truth to any man for any end.

All the follies and wrong Mr. Lincoln ever fell into or mmitted sprang out of these weak points: the want of tuitive judgment; the lack of quick, sagacious knowl-ge of the play and meaning of men's features as writ-n on the face; the want of the sense of propriety of ings; his tenderness and mercy; and lastly, his unsus-cting nature. He was deeply and sincerely honest him-

[7] Robert Dale Owen wrote Herndon on January 22, 1867: gain, Mr. Lincoln seems to me too true and honest a man have his eulogy written, and I have no taste for writing logies. I am sure that, if he were alive, he would feel that exact truth regarding himself was far more worthy of him-f and of his biographer than any flattering picture. I loved man as he was, with his rugged features, his coarse, rebellious r, his sad, dreamy eyes; and I love to see him, and I hope to scribed him, as he was, and not otherwise."

self, and assumed that others were so. He never suspect men; and hence in dealing with them he was easily impos upon.

All the wise and good things Mr. Lincoln ever sprang out of his great reason, his conscience, his und standing, his heart, his love of the truth, the right, and good. I am speaking now of his particular and individ faculties and qualities, not of their combination or the sult of any combinations. Run out these qualities a faculties abstractly, and see what they produce. For stance, a tender heart, a strong reason, a broad und standing, an exalted conscience, a love of the true and good must, proportioned reasonably and applied pr tically, produce a man of great power and great humani

As illustrative of a combination in Mr. Lincoln's ganization, it may be said that his eloquence lay in strength of his logical faculty, his supreme power reasoning, his great understanding, and his love of pr ciple; in his clear and accurate vision; in his cool masterly statement of principles around which the iss gather; and in the statement of those issues and the gro ing of the facts that are to carry conviction to the mi of men of every grade of intelligence. He was so cl that he could not be misunderstood or long misrep sented. He stood square and bolt upright to his con tions, and anyone who listened to him would be convin that he formed his thoughts and utterances by them. mind was not exactly a wide, broad, generalizing, comprehensive mind, nor yet a versatile, quick, and su one, bounding here and there as emergencies demand but it was deep, enduring, strong, like a majestic chine running in deep iron grooves with heavy flanges its wheels.

Mr. Lincoln himself was a very sensitive man, hence, in dealing with others, he avoided wounding t hearts or puncturing their sensibility. He was unusu considerate of the feelings of other men, regardless their rank, condition, or station. At first sight he str one with his plainness, simplicity of manner, since

ndor, and truthfulness. He had no double interests and o overwhelming dignity with which to chill the air around is visitor. He was always easy to approach and thorughly democratic. He seemed to throw a charm around very man who ever met him. To be in his presence was pleasure, and no man ever left his company with injured elings unless most richly deserved.

The universal testimony, "He is an honest man," gave im a firm hold on the masses, and they trusted him with blind religious faith. His sad, melancholy face excited eir sympathy, and when the dark days came it was their eart-strings that entwined and sustained him. Sympathy, e are told, is one of the strongest and noblest incentives human action. With the sympathy and love of the peole to sustain him, Lincoln had unlimited power over em; he threw an invisible and weightless harness over em, and drove them through disaster and desperation final victory. The trust and worship by the people of incoln were the result of his simple character. He held mself not aloof from the masses. He became one of em. They feared together, they struggled together, they oped together; thus melted and moulded into one, they came one in thought, one in will, one in action. If Lin-ln cautiously awaited the full development of the last ct in the great drama before he acted, when longer waitg would be a crime, he knew that the people were deterinedly at his back. Thus, when a blow was struck, it me with the unerring aim and power of a bolt from aven. A natural king—not ruling men, but leading em along the drifts and trends of their own tendencies, ways keeping in mind the consent of the governed, he veloped what the future historian will call the sublimt order of conservative statesmanship.

Whatever of life, vigor, force, and power of eloquence s peculiar qualities gave him; whatever there was in a ir, manly, honest, and impartial administration of jus-e under law to all men at all times; whatever there was a strong will in the right governed by tenderness and ercy; whatever there was in toil and sublime patience;

whatever there was in these things or a wise combinat
of them, Lincoln is justly entitled to in making up
impartial verdict of history. These limit and define h
as a statesman, as an orator, as an executive of the
tion, and as a man. They developed in all the walks
his life; they were his law; they were his nature, th
were Abraham Lincoln.

This long, bony, sad man floated down the Sangam
River in a frail canoe in the spring of 1831. Like a pi
of driftwood he lodged at last, without a history, stran
penniless, and alone. In sight of the capital of Illin
in the fatigue of daily toil he struggled for the necessa
of life. Thirty years later this same peculiar man
the Sangamon River, backed by friends, by power, by
patriotic prayers of millions of people, to be the ruler
the greatest nation in the world.

As the leader of a brave people in their desperate str
gle for national existence, Abraham Lincoln will alw
be an interesting historical character. His strong, hon
sagacious, and noble life will always possess a pecu
charm. Had it not been for his conservative statesm
ship, his supreme confidence in the wisdom of the peo
his extreme care in groping his way among facts
before ideas, this nation might have been two governme
today. The low and feeble circulation of his blood;
healthful irritability, which responded so slowly to
effects of stimuli; the strength of his herculean fra
his peculiar organism, conserving its force; his subl
patience; his wonderful endurance; his great hand
heart, saved this country from division, when divis
meant its irreparable ruin.

The central figure of our national history, the subl
type of our civilization, posterity, with the record of
career and actions before it, will decree that, whet
Providence so ordained it or not, Abraham Lincoln
the man for the hour.

THE END.

P P E N D I X

[About half of the Appendix to the original edition of rndon's *Lincoln* consisted of letters then unpublished but v accessible in the standard collections of Lincoln's writ- s. These are omitted here. The other material is retained ctly as it first appeared. P.M.A.]

AN INCIDENT ON THE CIRCUIT

'In the spring term of the Tazewell County Court in 1847, ich at that time was held in the village of Tremont, I was ained as a witness an entire week. Lincoln was employed several suits, and among them was one of Case vs. Snow os. The Snow Bros., as appeared in evidence (who were h minors), had purchased from an old Mr. Case what was n called a "prairie team," consisting of two or three yoke of en and prairie plow, giving therefor their joint note for ne two hundred dollars; but when pay-day came refused to , pleading the minor act. The note was placed in Lincoln's nds for collection. The suit was called and a jury im- nelled. The Snow Bros. did not deny the note, but pleaded ough their counsel that they were minors, and that Mr. se knew they were at the time of the contract and convey- e. All this was admitted by Mr. Lincoln, with his peculiar ase, 'Yes, gentlemen, I reckon that's so.' The minor act s read and its validity admitted in the same manner. The nsel of the defendants were permitted without question to e all these things to the jury, and to show by the statute t these minors could not be held responsible for their con- ct. By this time you may well suppose that I began to be asy. 'What!' thought I, 'this good old man, who con- d in these boys, to be wronged in this way, and even his nsel, Mr. Lincoln, to submit in silence!' I looked at the urt, Judge Treat, but could read nothing in his calm and dig-

nified demeanor. Just then, Mr. Lincoln slowly got up, an his strange, half-erect attitude and clear, quiet accent beg '*Gentlemen of the Jury*, are you willing to allow these boy begin life with this shame and disgrace attached to their c acter? If you are, *I* am not. The best judge of human c acter that ever wrote has left these immortal words for a us to ponder:

"Good name in man or woman, dear my lord,
Is the immediate jewel of their souls:
Who steals my purse steals trash; 'tis something, nothin
'Twas mine, 'tis his, and has been slave to thousands;
But he that filches from me my good name
Robs me of that which not enriches him
And makes me poor indeed."'

"Then rising to his full height, and looking upon the def ants with the compassion of a brother, his long right arm tended toward the opposing counsel, he continued: 'Ge men of the jury, these poor innocent boys would never attempted this low villainy had it not been for the advic these lawyers.' Then for a few minutes he showed how the noble science of law may be prostituted. With a scat rebuke to those who thus belittle their profession, he cluded: 'And now, gentlemen, you have it in *your* powe set these boys right before the world.' He plead for young men only; I think he did not mention his client's n The jury, without leaving their seats, decided that the fendants must pay the debt; and the latter, after hea Lincoln, were as willing to pay it as the jury were determ they should. I think the entire argument lasted not above minutes."—*George W. Minier*, statement, Apr. 10, 1882.

LINCOLN'S FELLOW LAWYERS

Among Lincoln's colleagues at the Springfield bar, afte re-entry into politics in 1854, and until his elevation t Presidency, were, John T. Stuart, Stephen T. Logan, Jo McClernand, Benjamin S. Edwards, David Logan, Herndon, W. J. Ferguson, James H. Matheny, C. C. B N. M. Broadwell, Charles W. Keyes, John E. Rosette, Zane, J. C. Conkling, Shelby M. Cullom, and G. M. There were others, notably John M. Palmer and Richa

lesby, who came in occasionally from other counties and d suits with and against us, but they never became mem- s of our bar, strictly speaking, till after the war had closed. W. H. H.

THE TRUCE WITH DOUGLAS.—TESTIMONY OF IRWIN

'The conversation took place in the office of Lincoln & rndon, in the presence of P. L. Harrison, William H. Hern- , Pascal Enos, and myself. It originated in this way: ter the debate at Springfield on the 4th and 5th of October, 4, William Jayne, John Cassiday, Pascal Enos, the writer, l others whose names I do not now remember, filled out and ned a written request to Lincoln to follow Douglas until he n him into his hole' or made him halloo 'Enough,' and that Lincoln was giving in his report. He said that the next rning after the Peoria debate Douglas came to him and ttered him that he knew more on the question of Territorial anization in this government than all the Senate of the ited States, and called his mind to the trouble the latter had en him. He added that Lincoln had already given him re trouble than all the opposition in the Senate, and then posed to Lincoln that if he (Lincoln) would go home and follow him, he (Douglas) would go to no more of his ap- ntments, would make no more speeches, and would go home l remain silent during the rest of the campaign. Lincoln not make another speech till after the election."—*B. F. vin*, statement, Feb. 8, 1866, unpublished MS.

THE BLOOMINGTON CONVENTION

Following is a copy of the call to select delegates to the omington Convention held May 29, 1856, when the Re- lican party in Illinois came into existence. It will be re- mbered that I signed Lincoln's name under instructions m him by telegraph. The original document I gave several rs ago to a friend in Boston, Mass.:

"We, the undersigned, citizens of Sangamon County, who opposed to the repeal of the Missouri Compromise, and the ent administration, and who are in favor of restoring to

the general government the policy of Washington and Jeffers
would suggest the propriety of a County Convention, to be h
in the city of Springfield on Saturday, the 24th day of M
at 2 o'clock, P. M., to appoint delegates to the Blooming
Convention.

"A. LINCOLN,
"W. H. HERNDON and others.

The decided stand Lincoln took in this instance, and
speech in the Convention, undoubtedly paved the way for
leadership in the Republican party.—W. H. H.

AN OFFICE DISCUSSION—LINCOLN'S IDEA OF WAR

One morning in 1859, Lincoln and I, impressed with
probability of war between the two sections of the coun
were discussing the subject in the office. "The position ta
by the advocates of State Sovereignty," remarked Lincoln,
ways reminds me of the fellow who contended that the pro
place for the big kettle was inside of the little one." To
war seemed inevitable, but when I came to view the ma
squarely, I feared a difficulty the North would have in c
trolling the various classes of people and shades of se
ment, so as to make them an effective force in case of w
I feared the lack of some great head and heart to lead us
ward. Lincoln had great confidence in the masses, believ
that, when they were brought face to face with the reality
the conflict, all differences would disappear, and that t
would be merged into one. To illustrate his idea he made
of this figure: "Go to the river bank with a coarse sieve
fill it with gravel. After a vigorous shaking you will obse
that the small pebbles and sand have sunk from view
fallen to the ground. The next larger in size, unable to
between the wires, will still be found within the sieve.
thorough and repeated shakings you will find that, of
pebbles still left in the sieve, the largest ones will have r
to the top. Now," he continued, "if, as you say, war is
evitable and will shake the country from centre to circum
ence, you will find that the little men will fall out of viev
the shaking. The masses will rest on some solid foundat
and the big men will have climbed to the top. Of these la
one greater than all the rest will leap forth armed and equi

-the people's leader in the conflict." Little did I realize e strength of the masses when united and fighting for a mmon purpose; and much less did I dream that the great ader soon to be tried was at that very moment touching my ow!—W. H. H.

NCOLN'S VIEWS ON THE RIGHTS OF SUFFRAGE

At one time, while holding the office of attorney for the city Springfield, I had a case in the Supreme Court, which in-lved the validity or constitutionality of a law regulating the tter of voting. Although a city case, it really abridged the ht of suffrage. Being Lincoln's partner I wanted him to ist me in arguing the questions involved. He declined to so, saying: "I am opposed to the limitation or lessening the right of suffrage; if anything, I am in favor of its ex-sion or enlargement. I want to lift men up—to broaden her than contract their privileges."—W. H. H.

THE BURIAL OF THE ASSASSIN BOOTH

"Upon reaching Washington with the body of Booth—hav-g come up the Potomac—it was at once removed from the g-boat to a gun-boat that lay at the dock at the Navy Yard, ere it remained about thirty-six hours. It was there ex-ined by the Surgeon-General and staff and other officers, d identified by half a score of persons who had known him ll. Toward evening of the second day Gen. L. C. Baker, n chief of the 'Detective Bureau of the War Department,' eived orders from Secretary of War Stanton to dispose of body. Stanton said, 'Put it where it will not be disturbed il Gabriel blows his last trumpet.' I was ordered to assist n. The body was placed in a row-boat, and taking with us trusty man to manage the boat, we quietly floated down the er. Crowds of people all along the shore were watching For a blind we took with us a heavy ball and chain, and was soon going from lip to lip that we were about to sink body in the Potomac. Darkness soon came on, completely ncealing our movements, and under its cover we pulled wly back to the old Penitentiary, which during the war was d as an arsenal. The body was then lifted from the boat

and carried through a door opening on the river front. Un
the stone floor of what had been a prison cell a shallow gr
was dug, and the body, with the United States blanket fo
'winding-sheet,' was there interred. There also it remai
till Booth's accomplices were hanged. It was then taken
and buried with his companions in crime. I have since lear
that the remains were again disinterred and given to
friends, and that they now rest in the family burial-place
Baltimore, Md."—*From MS. of L. B. Baker, late Lieut.*
A. Q. M. 1st D. C. Cav.

A TRIBUTE TO LINCOLN BY A COLLEAGUE
THE BAR

"The weird and melancholy association of eloquence
poetry had a strong fascination for Mr. Lincoln's mi
Tasteful composition, either of prose or poetry, which fa
fully contrasted the realities of eternity with the unstable
fickle fortunes of time, made a strong impression on his mi
In the indulgence of this melancholy taste it is related of
that the poem, *'Immortality,'* he knew by rote and appreci
very highly. He had a strange liking for the verses, and t
bear a just resemblance to his fortune. Mr. Lincoln, at
time of his assassination, was encircled by a halo of immo
glory such as had never before graced the brow of mortal m
He had driven treason from its capital city, had slept in
palace of its once proud and defiant, but now vanquis
leader, and had saved his country and its accrued glories
three-quarters of a century from destruction. He rode,
with the haughty and imperious brow of an ancient conque
but with the placid complacency of a pure patriot, through
streets of the political Babylon of modern times. He
ridden over battlefields immortal in history, when, in po
at least, he was the leader. Having assured the misgui
citizens of the South that he meant them no harm beyon
determination to maintain the government, he returned buo
with hope to the Executive Mansion where for four long y
he had been held, as it were, a prisoner.

"Weary with the stories of state, he goes to seek the rel
tion of amusement at the theatre; sees the gay crowd a
passes in; is cheered and graciously smiled upon by
women and brave men; beholds the gorgeous paraphernali

stage, the brilliantly lighted scene, the arched ceiling, with grotesque and inimitable figuring to heighten the effect and ke the occasion one of unalloyed pleasure. The hearts of people beat in unison with his over a redeemed and ran- ned land. A pause in the play—a faint pistol shot is rd. No one knows its significance save the hellish few who in the plot. A wild shriek, such as murder wrings from heart of woman, follows: the proud form of Mr. Lincoln sunk in death. The scene is changed to a wild confusion h as no poet can describe, no painter delineate. Well might murdered have said and oft repeated:

"'Tis the wink of an eye, 'tis the draught of a breath,
From the blossom of health to the paleness of death,
From the gilded saloon to the bier and the shroud,—
Oh, why should the spirit of mortal be proud?'"

[*From a speech by Hon. Lawrence Weldon, at a bar-meeting d in the United States Court at Springfield, Ill., in June, 1865.*]

INDEX

ble, Mrs. Bennett, 116
bolitionism, Herndon and, xviii, 150, 292; in Illinois legislature, 143. *See also* Slavery
braham Lincoln Association, The, x
dam and Eve's Wedding Song, 43
dams, John Quincy, 220
ddams, John H., 303
sop's Fables, 36, 39
labama, The, 452
lbany, 396
llen, G. T., 306
llen, Robert, 135
lton, debate, 328
lton *Courier,* 313
nderson, Robert, 82, 453
nti-Slavery Standard, 293
rmstrong, Hannah, 288, 389
rmstrong, Jack, 69, 70
rnold, Isaac Newton, 289; aided by Herndon, xxvii; on Anne Rutledge story, 105
rnold, Samuel, 462
sbury, Henry, 338
shley, James Mitchell, 451n.
shmun, George, 224; notifies Lincoln of nomination, 374, 376
tlantic Monthly, xxxv
tzerodt, George A. (J. W.), 462, 464

aker, Edward Dickinson, 210, 211, 241n.; practices law in Springfield, 149; frequents Speed's store, 150; in debate, 154; defended by Lincoln, 158; defeats Lincoln for nomination, 212-14; defeated by Hardin, 214; in Congress, 215; withdraws from contest, 216; in Mexican War, 219; agreement with Lincoln on patronage, 242; introduces Lincoln, 399
aker, Henry L., 306
aker, L. B., 463, 496
aker, Lafayette C., 463, 495
ale, Mrs. Hardin, describes Anne Rutledge, 107, Mary Owens, 117
altimore, 397
ancroft, George, 444n.; lecture, 363; eulogy disliked by Lincoln's friends, 417
Banks, Nathaniel Prentiss, 323
Barrett, Doctor, 103
Barrett, Joseph H., xxvii
Barrett, Oliver Rogers, x
Bartlett, Truman H., xxxvin.
Barton, William Eleazer, 469n.
Bateman, Newton, 377
Bates, Edward, 338
Beardstown, Lincoln speaks at, 338-41
Beckwith, Hiram W., 282
Bedell, Grace, 395
Beecher, Henry Ward, Herndon's estimate of, xxii; interview with Herndon, 322; on Lincoln's death, 460
Bell, John, 378
Bennett, James Gordon, 428
Benton, Thomas Hart, 294
Berry, William, 88, 90
Bible, read by Lincoln, 36, 39, 477; familiarity with, 258
Bissell, William Harrison, 219, 312
Black, Chauncey Forward, xxx
Black, William J., 253
Black Hawk war, outbreak, 76; Lincoln enlists, 77; Lincoln in, 77-83, 231; reenlists, 82, 83; bounty lands, 83; referred to, 435
Blackstone's Commentaries, 91, 261
Blair, Montgomery, 383
Bledsoe, Albert Taylor, 149, 202
Bliss, J. S., on Lincoln, 379-81
Bogue, Vincent, 72, 75
Bloomington, Lincoln's lecture, 363n.; Convention, Lincoln attends, 311-12; ratification meeting at Springfield, 314-15n.; referred to, 493
Booth, Edwin, 465
Booth, John Wilkes, plans assassination, 465; assassinates Lincoln, 454-57; death, 462-64; burial, 495
Booth, Junius Brutus, 465
Botts, John Minor, 382
Boston *Advertiser,* 232
Brackenridge, John A., 50
Breckinridge, John Cabell, 378
Breese, Sidney, 298
Britton, Isaac S., 209
Broadwell, Norman McAlbin, 492
Brown, Christopher Columbus, 492

Browne, Thomas C., 181
Browning, Orville Hickman, 241, 284; frequents Speed's store, 150; in debate, 154; accompanies Lincoln from Springfield, 393; considered for Supreme Court, 406
Browning, Mrs. Orville Hickman, letter to, 126-29
Brumfield, William, 6
Bryant, John H., 301n.
Bryant, William Cullen, 369, 428
Buchanan, James, campaign in Illinois, 317, 318; escorts Lincoln to inauguration, 399, 400
Buffalo (city), 396
Bull Run, battle, 438-40
Burba, Erastus Reuben, 32
Burke, Edmund, biography of, 352
Burnet House, 363n.
Burns, Robert, works, 258, 420
Butler, Evan, 151
Butler, Speed, 180n.
Butler, William, Lincoln boards with, 149; challenged by Shields, 178, 205; Lincoln's second, 193, 202; recommended for appointment, 253; referred to, 300
Butterfield, Justin, appointed Commissioner General Land Office, 241-43
Byron, George Noel Gordon, Lord, works, 258, 420

Calhoun, John, appoints Lincoln surveyor, 98; frequents Speed's store, 150; in debate, 154; speaks in Springfield, 298
Calhoun, John Caldwell, 421
Calk, William, 8-9
Cambridge, Mass., 232
Cameron, John M., 107
Cameron, Simon, promised cabinet office, 381; opposition to, 382; secretary of war, 438
Campbell, A., and Lincoln's campaign expenses, 328-29
Candler, Louis, 223
'Card and a Correction,' xxxii
Carlin, Thomas, 156
Carpenter, William, 104
Cartter, David K., 373
Cartwright, Peter, 218, 219
Case *vs.* Snow, 491
Cass, Lewis, 229
Cassiday, John, 493
Centralia, 336
Chandler, 282
Chandler, Dr. Charles, 102
Channing, William Ellery, 359
Chapman, Mrs. Harriet, on Sarah Bush Lincoln, 29; on Douglas Mary Todd, 167
Charleston, debate, 328, 337; cases, 417-19
Charleston *Mercury* (S. C.), 293
Chase, Salmon Portland, 366; vious of Lincoln, 416; works presidency, 427; administers to Lincoln, 451
Chatterton, Charles W., 409
Chelsea, 232
Cherryvale (Kan.) *Globe-News,*
Chicago, Lincoln speaks, 328; vi 385; Convention, 373
Chicago *Democratic Press,* 314
Chicago *Journal,* xxxiv
Chicago *Tribune,* 293
Chitty's Pleadings, 91, 261
Christianity, Lincoln's attitude wards, 355-60
'Christian's Defence, The,' xxx
'Chronicles of Reuben,' 44-47
Cincinnati, Lincoln in, 285-87, speech, 363 and note
Cincinnati *Gazette,* 93
Civil War, 434, 452
Claggett, W. T., 11
Clary's Grove boys, 69
Clay, Henry, 314, 421; Lincoln paigns for, 214; defeated, Lincoln opposes, 226; supports terfield, 243; speech used by coln for inaugural address, 38
Cobb, Howell, 220
Cogsdale, Isaac, 389
Colfax, Schuyler, 455
Columbia, District of, emancipa in, 233
Columbus (O.), Lincoln speaks t 363; visits, 396
Compromise of 1850, 294
Conger, Everton J., 463
Congress, Lincoln in, 232-34
Conkling, James Cook, 492; coln's letter to, 444-48
Conservative, The (Springfield),
Cook, Burton C., 294, 306
'Coon' story, 23
Cooper Institute, speech, 367-69
Corbett, Boston, 463
Crawford, Andrew, school of,
Crawford, Josiah, Weems *Wash ton,* 36; caricatured, 47
Crawford, Mrs. Josiah, on Lin in Indiana, 41-43
Crittenden, John Jordan, 241 note
Crume, Ralph, 6
Cullom, Shelby Moore, 264n.,

Dana, Charles A. (?), 424

nforth, J. B., 403
rwin, Charles, works, 353
vis, David, 307, 383, 387, 427; witnesses 'skinning' of Thomas, 159; on circuit, 248, 282; Lincoln as story-teller, 249; trial lawyer, 270, 274; Lincoln on circuit, 280; reluctance to go home, 344; Lincoln's religion, 356; Bloomington Convention, 312; Chicago Convention, 373-74; promises cabinet offices, 381; accompanies Lincoln to Washington, 393; appointment to Supreme Court, 405-08; on Bancroft's eulogy, 417; on military trials, 449n.
vis, Henry Winter, 383
vis, Oliver Lowndes, 282
vis, Walter, 235, 239
wson, John, elected to legislature, 104, 138
y, Frederick S., 304
catur Convention, 372
claration of Independence, eulogy, 338-41
dham, 232
frees, John D., 358n.
lahay, Mark William, letters to: on Republican policy, 365; presidential nomination, 369-70 and note
ckey, Theophilus Lyle, on 'house divided' sentiment, 325 and note, 426
ckson, William Martin, on Lincoln in reaper case, 285-87; Lincoln at Cincinnati, 363n.
ggins, Wesley, 303
scoveries and Inventions,' lecture, 362
le, William P., 409
rsey, Azel W., school of, 32, 34
uglas, Stephen Arnold, 406, 493; first meeting with Lincoln, 131; elected to legislature, 139; supports internal improvement system, 141; defeated by Stuart, 147; states attorney, 149; frequents Speed's store, 150; challenges Whigs to debate, 153-54; debates with Lincoln, 160; and Mary Todd, 167; in Senate, 220; Lincoln answers Richmond speech, 291; Kansas-Nebraska act, 294; speaks in Springfield, 295; truce with Lincoln, 300; Greeley favors, 319; interview with Herndon, 321; eastern Republicans favor, 322; nominated, 324; speaks in Chicago, 327; accepts Lincoln's challenge, 328; debates with Lincoln, 334-37; Ohio speeches, 363; nominated for presidency, 375; vote for, 378; at inauguration, 400-401; last interview with Lincoln, 434n.; characterization, 329-31
Drake, Daniel, Lincoln writes, 114, 173n.
Drake, John W., 282
Dresser, Charles, Lincoln's wedding, 180
Dresser, Thomas Withers, statement on Mrs. Lincoln, 350
Drummond, Thomas, 289
Dubois, Jesse Kilgore, 324 and note
Dummer, Henry Enoch, 145n.
Duncan, Jason, 114
Duncan, John, 18

Early, Jacob M., 83, 136
Edinburgh *Review*, 353
Edwards, Benjamin Stephenson, 492
Edwards, Cyrus, candidate for Land Office, 241-42
Edwards, Ninian Wirt, difficulty with Morris, 135; with Allen, 135; with Early; elected to legislature, 138; practises law, 149; witnesses 'skinning' of Thomas, 159; on circuit, 248; home of, wedding preparations, 169
Edwards, Mrs. Ninian Wirt (Elizabeth Todd), 350; and Lincoln and Mary Todd, 165, 166; believed Lincoln insane, 170; on reconciliation of Lincoln and Mary Todd, 180; describes Lincoln in White House, 410-12
Edwards family, 146
Elliot, Jonathan, Debates on the Adoption of the Federal Constitution, 368
Elkin, David, 27
Elkin, William F., 138
Ellis, Abner Yates, on Lincoln's first campaign, 86; loans Lincoln books, 93; describes Lincoln, 95, 96; witnesses 'skinning' of Thomas, 159; appointment recommended by Yates, 391
Ellsworth, Ephraim Elmer, Lincoln on, 257; accompanies Lincoln to polls, 378; to Washington, 393
Emancipation, in Dist. Columbia, 233; Lincoln on, 427; Proclamation, urged by Herndon, 409; issued, 442-43; Lincoln's confidence in, 422. *See also* Slavery
Emancipator, The, read by Lincoln, 23
Engle, William, 250

English, Revill W., 195, 201
Enos, Pascal Paoli, 493
Euclid, studied by Lincoln, 248, 257
Everett, letter concerning, 252
Ewing, William Lee Davidson, elected speaker, 155, 160; in duel with Shields, 195, 202

Fanchier, G. B., 80
Farmer, Aaron, 52
Farragut, David G., 452
Fell, Jesse W., Lincoln autobiography, 3; Lincoln's religion, 357-59
Ferguson, W. J., 492
Ficklin, Orlando Bell, 219
Field, A. P., 308
Fillmore, Millard, Lincoln's argument against, 317; Illinois vote, 318
Fletcher, Job, 138
Ford, John T., 465
Ford, Thomas, 142
Ford, Worthington Chauncey, x
Ford family, 146
Ford's Theater, 455, 464
Forquer, George, 137, 149
Forquer family, 146
Fox, Charles James, 439
Francis, Newton, 151
Francis, Simeon, 179, 296
Francis, Mrs. Simeon, 179
Freeport debate, 328, 335
Free Soil Party, 232
Fremont, John Charles, campaign in Illinois, 316-18; emancipation order annulled, 442; presidential aspirations, 427; withdraws from campaign, 448
Friend, Charles, 14n.

Gage, George, 303
Galesburg debate, 328
Garrison, Mrs. Gertrude, 454n.
Garrison, William Lloyd, correspondent of Herndon, xxi, 292; Herndon's estimate of, xxii
Gentry, Allen, 54
Gentry, James, 54, 57
Gentry, Kate, 35
Gentryville, life in, 54-56; Lincoln speaks at, 214
Gibbon, Edward, works of, 93
Giddings, Joshua Reed, 233, 238, 381; corresponds with Herndon, xxi; speeches read by Herndon, 293; letter to Lincoln, 316
Gillespie, Joseph, 183; jumps from window, 162; letter from Lincoln on senatorship, 302; describes Lincoln in Harrison campaign, 160; Lincoln and Van Buren, 208; Lincoln's fairness, 277; on Lincoln's characterization of slavery, 29 describes Lincoln's defeat, 307; Lincoln's mind, 351
Gladstone, William Ewart, 431
Globe Tavern, 237
Godby, Russell, on Lincoln, 92; su vey for, 100
Gollaher, Austin, 18
Goodrich, Grant, 284; offers Linco partnership, 247; on Lincoln Parker *vs.* Hoyt, 266
Gourly, James, reminiscence, 474n
Graham, Mentor, on Lincoln's ri rival in New Salem, 66; aids Li coln, 71, 99; school attended Anne Rutledge, 107
Grant, Ulysses Simpson, 442, 45 452, 455; assassination planne 462
Gray, Thomas, Elegy quoted by Li coln, 1-2
Greeley, Horace, 428; corresponde of Herndon, 292; letter to Her don, 320; interview with Her don, 322; Herndon's estimate xxii; favors Douglas, 319; on Li coln Douglas campaign, 337; nounces Lincoln, 442
Greene, Bowling, and Lincoln, 11 funeral, 114
Greene, Mrs. Bowling, 120
Greene, L. M., describes Anne Ru ledge, 107; Mary Owens, 117
Greene, Gaines, 120
Greene, Johnson G., 117
Greene, William G., works with Li coln, 68; sells store, 89; on Li coln's grief, 113
Greenleaf's Evidence, 261
Grigsby, Aaron, marries Sarah Li coln, 17; wedding celebrated, 42
Grigsby, Charles, wedding, 45
Grigsby, Nathaniel, 32
Grigsby, Reuben, wedding, 45
Grigsby, William, fights Johnston, caricatured, 47
Grigsby family, Lincoln's rese ment against, 44
Grimshaw, Jackson, 366
Gurley, Phineas Densmore, 461
Guthrie, James, 386

Hall, James, 71
Hall, Levi, 57
Hall, Squire, letter to, xxvi
Hamlin, Hannibal, nomination, 3 with Lincoln in Chicago, 385n
Hammond, Abram, 244-46
Hanks, Abraham, 8-9
Hanks, Dennis, on legitimacy

Nancy Hanks, 2n.; parentage, 14n.; removal to Indiana, 21; on life in Indiana, 22; Lincoln's boyhood, 24; songs sung in Indiana, 49; removal to Illinois, 56, 57; visits Lincoln in Washington, 417-19
anks, John, on legitimacy of Nancy Hanks, 2n.; Lincoln's studiousness, 39; selects land in Illinois, 59; describes stump speech by Lincoln, 60; hired by Offut, 61; slave auction story, 64 and note; fence rails, 372
anks, Joseph, 10
anks, Lucy, 2n.
anks, Nancy, illegitimacy, 2-3, xl; marriage, 4, 6; characterization, 13-14. *See also* Lincoln, Nancy Hanks
anks, Thomas, 9
anks family, characterization, 14
annah, William H., 356
annegan, Edward, 246
ardin, John J., 131, 211; practices law in Springfield, 149; in Lincoln-Shields duel, 195, 201; defeats Baker, 214; Congress, 215; letter on congressional nomination, from Lincoln, 216; withdraws from contest, 218; in Mexican war, 219
arding, George, 285
arding, Jacob, letter to, 304
armon, Oscar F., 282
arpers Magazine, Douglas' article, 364
arris, Clara W., 455, 456
arris, Ira, 455
arrisburg, Lincoln in 396, 397
arrison, Peachy Quinn, 264n.
arrison, Peyton L., 493
arrison, William Henry, 160, 231
atch, Ozias Mather, 366
awthorne *vs.* Woolridge, 147
ay, John, 352; accompanies Lincoln to Washington, 393; on Lincoln in White House, 415-17
y, John, and Nicolay, John George, *Abraham Lincoln: A History,* 105, 434n.
ay, Logan, x
ay, Milton, 151, 255
aycraft, Samuel, describes Caleb Hazel, 18; on Lincoln-Johnston marriage, 28; invites Lincoln to Kentucky, 8
azel, Caleb, school, 17; description, 18
ead, Jesse, 4
elm, John B., on camp meeting, 14-16; youthful Lincoln, 17
Hendricks, Thomas A., 449n.
Henry, Anson G., recommended for postmastership, 170; letter to, 338
Hentz, Mrs. Lee, novels of, 93
Herndon, Archer G., 106; settles in Springfield, xiii-iv; personality, xiv; candidate for legislature, 133, 138; withdraws son from college, 150
Herndon, Elliott B., 492; disparaging estimate of Lincoln, 469n.
Herndon, James A., 146; sells store to Lincoln, 88
Herndon, J. Rowan, 146; on Lincoln's arrival at New Salem, 67; pilots *Talisman,* 74; sells store to Lincoln, 88; description of Lincoln, 103
Herndon, William Henry, early life, xiv; meets Lincoln, xv, 73; attracted by Lincoln, 146; clerks for Speed, 150; in literary society, 151; meets Mary Todd, 166; partnership with Lincoln, xvi, 211; admitted to bar, 212; disapproves Lincoln's course on Mexican war, 223; warns of Whig defections, 226; legal career, xvi-vii; on circuit, 248; relations with Lincoln in office, 255-57; Lincoln divides fee, 256; estimate of Lincoln as lawyer challenged, 272n.; political activities, xviii-xxi; supplies Lincoln with abolition literature, 292; describes Lincoln's speech, 296; editorials written by, 297; at Bloomington Convention, 311-12; at ratification meeting, 314; eastern trip, 320-23; on 'House divided' speech, 326-27n.; aids Lincoln during debates, 336; accompanies Lincoln to polls, 378; letter to Wilson on Lincoln, 384; and preparation of first inaugural address, 386; last meeting with Lincoln in law office, 389-93; visits Lincoln in Washington, 409; interview with Mrs. Lincoln, 413-15; commences biography, xxvi; lectures on Lincoln, xxviii; on Lincoln's paternity, 8n.; analysis of Lincoln's character, 471-90; denies slanders, xxxi-iii; death, xxxvii
Personality of, key to biography, xiii, xxxviii; justifies biographical method, v-viii; liquor habit, xxiii; intellectual interests, xxiv, 353; not a drug addict, xxiv; religious beliefs, xxv; description of, xxvii
Letters to: from Ashley, 451n.; from Davis, 449n.; from Defrees,

358n.; from Lincoln, 220, 404; on Mexican war, 224, 225; on Stephens, 225; on young men in politics, 228; on Walter Davis, 235; on election news, 376; from Mrs. Lincoln, 412; from Nicolay, 357n.; from Robert Dale Owen, 487n.; from Mary Owens (Vineyard), 119-21; from Swett, on Davis appointment, 405-08; on Lincoln's character, 425-33; from Whitney, 434n., 435n.
Herndon's *Lincoln*, scope of, author's statement, vii-viii, x; controversy over, xiii; work on commenced, xxvi; reviews of, xxxiv-xxxvi; reliability, general estimate, xxxvii-xl; final estimate, xlvi
Herold, David E., 462, 464, 466
Hill, Samuel, affronts Lincoln, 96; postmaster, 101; partner of McNamar, 107; in love with Anne Rutledge, 108
History of the United States, read by Lincoln, 36
Hodges, A. G., letter, 224
Holland, J. G., aided by Herndon, xxvii; on Anne Rutledge story, 105; on journey to Washington, 396; on contradictory estimates of Lincoln's character, 468-71
Holmes, Oliver Wendell, poems, 258
Holt, Joseph, 448
Hood, John B., 452
Hooker, Joseph, 461
Hope, Thomas M., 195, 202
Horner, Henry, x
'House Divided' speech, 324-27; justified by Lincoln, 426
Hughes, Archbishop, 464
Huntington, 246
Huntington Library, The Henry E., x, 469n.
Hurst, Charles R., xv, 150
Hypochondriasis, and Lincoln, 171

Iles, Elijah, captain, 82
Illinois, journey to, 57-58
Illinois Central Railroad Co., sued by Lincoln, 284; aids Douglas, 337
Illinois College, Herndon attends, xiv
Illinois *Journal*, on speech of Lincoln, 296; Lincoln writes for, 297; quoted, 307; call for convention, 311
Illinois *State Journal*, on ratification meeting, 315n.; office of, Lincoln in, 374. *See also Sangamon Journal*
Illinois *State Register*, quoted, 2
on ratification meeting, 315
satirizes Lincoln, 162
Illinois State Historical Library,
'Immortality', *see* Knox, James
Inauguration, first, address prepar
386; described, 399-401
Independence Hall, speech, 396
Indiana, Thomas Lincoln removes
20-21; Lincoln cabin, 23
Indiana, Statutes of, 40
Indianapolis, Lincoln in, 396
Inlow, Abraham, 7
'Inquiry,' 259
Internal improvements, syst
adopted, 139-41; extended, 1
collapse, 161
Irwin, Benjamin Franklin, 300,

Jackson, Andrew, 229; proclamati
386
James, General, 439
Jayne, Julia, at Lincoln weddi
180; ridicules Shields, 184; wr
Rebecca letter, 190; 'Cathle
lines, 192
Jayne, William, 300, 493
Johnson, Andrew, 220, 410; disli
by Lincoln, 413; vice-preside
448; assassination planned, 4
denounced by Herndon, xxi
Johnson, Reverdy, 285
Johnston, John D., confused w
Lincoln, 18n.; and 'coon dog,
lives with Lincolns, 28, 30; fi
Grigsby, 41; hired by Offut,
letter to, 388n.
Johnston, Matilda, lives with
colns, 28, 30; cut by ax, 30-31
Johnston, Sarah, 28, 30
Johnston, Sarah Bush, *see* Linc
Sarah Bush Johnston
Jones, William, store, 50
Jonesboro debate, 328, 336
Judd, Norman Buel, 284, 306,
406; revolts against Douglas,
at Bloomington convention,
letter to, on campaign expen
361; proposes Lincoln for p
dency, 366; at Chicago convent
374; accompanies Lincoln to W
ington, 393

Kansas, disorder in, 309; suffe
Lincoln's subscription for, 310
note
Kansas-Nebraska act, 294
Kaskaskia, 142
Kearsarge, 452
Keene, Laura, 457, 465
Kentucky, Thomas Lincoln in,

entucky *Preceptor*, 42
enzie, Robert, 253
eyes, Charles W., 492
eyes, I. W., 356
ing, Turner R., 234
irkham's Grammar, 71
irkpatrick, William, 77
nox, James, 'Mortality,' 114; quoted by Lincoln, 257; fondness for, 258, 496
rume, Ralph, 28

mar, James W., 40
mb family, 146
mborn, Josiah, practices law in Springfield, 149; frequents Speed's store, 150; in debate, 154
mon, Ward Hill, aided by Herndon, xxvii; life of Lincoln, xxx; on Lincoln's letter to Mrs. Browning, 125; circuit lawyer, 282; on Scott Club speech, 291; accompanies Lincoln to polls, 378; to Washington, 393, 397
nd Office, Commissionership, 240
ne, James Henry, 439
rkins, James, 40
ast Leaf,' Lincoln's fondness for, 258
wrence, G. W., 282
wrence, Luther W., 303
e, J. C., letter to, 310n.
e, Robert Edward, 452
gislature, Illinois, Lincoln elected, 104; session 1834-35, 130-32; session 1835-36, 132; session 1836-37, 139-45; session 1837, 154; session 1838-39, 155; session 1839, 156; session 1840-41, 160-62, 171 and note
wis, Thomas, xxxi
fe (mag.), quoted, xxxv
ncoln, Abraham, 4-5; in Kentucky, 8; death, 10
NCOLN, ABRAHAM, birth, 6; paternity questioned, 7-8; school in Kentucky, 17; childhood in Indiana, 24; describes Indiana home, 21; rapid growth, 25; school in Indiana, 32-36; Weems' *Washington*, 36; doggerel by, 37, 42-43, 48, 151; begins public speaking, 40; fights Grigsby, 41; frequents courts, 50; kicked by horse, 51; works on ferry, 52; youthful writings, 52-53; visits New Orleans, 54, 61-64; removal to Illinois, 57; in Macon county, 59-61; juggler, 62; settles at New Salem, 66; election clerk, 66-67; wrestles Armstrong, 69; studies grammar, 70-71; pilots *Talisman*, 73-75; Black Hawk war, 77-83; bounty lands, 83n.; candidate for legislature, 1832, 84-85; defeated, 87 and note; storekeeper, 88-90; studies law, 91-93; recites doggerel, 94; surveyor, 98-100; postmaster, 101; aids Chandler, 102

Elected legislature 1834, 103-04; Anne Rutledge, 106; courtship, 110-11; death, effect of, 113-14; meets Mary Owens, 116; proposes, 123-25, 127-29; rejected, 119; in legislature, 1834-1837, 130-45; castigates Forquer, 137; internal improvement system, 139-41; location of capital, 141-42; anti-slavery protest, 143-44; removal to Springfield, 145; Stuart partnership, 147; drunken shoemaker, 151; in debate 154; in legislature, 1837-40, 154-60; caricatures Taylor, 157; defends Baker, 158; 'skins' Thomas, 159; jumps from window, 161-62; Mary Todd, 166; attempts to break engagement, 168; fails to appear at wedding, 169-70; depression, 170; visits Speed, 171-73; reconciliation with Mary Todd, 177, 178-79; duel with Shields, 178, 183-205.

Marriage, 180; Sarah Rickard, 182; 'Rebecca' letters, 192; second to Merryman, 205; temperance speech, 206; meets Van Buren, 208; Logan partnership, 209; Herndon partnership, 211, xvi; defeated by Baker, 212; campaigns for Clay, 214; elected to Congress, 215-19; in Congress, 219-31; for Taylor for President, 226; Cass speech, 229-31; speaks in New England, 231; retires from politics, 236; patent for steamers, 239; Land Office commissionership, 240-43; and hospitable Kentuckian, 244; and comet, 245; declines Oregon appointment, 246; renewed interest in law, 247; on circuit, 248-51; divides $5000 fee, 256; Parker *vs.* Hoyt, 265; notes for law suit, 273; 'skins' pension agent, 274-76; defends women in saloon case, 276-77; prosecutes Wyant, 278; owned little property, 279 and note; acts as judge, 281; sues Illinois Central, 284; reaper case, 285-87; defends Duff Armstrong, 288; sand-bar case, 289.

Interest in politics revived, 295; answers Douglas, 296; editorials,

297; dodges radicals, 299; Peoria truce, 300, 493; candidate for Senate, 1855, 301-306; defeated, 305-07; helps release negro, 308; counsels moderation in dealing with Kansas, 309; joins Republican party, 311; 'Lost Speech,' 312-14; Fremont campaign, 315-18; lithographed letter, 318n.; resentment against Greeley, 319; letter from Herndon on eastern Republicans, 322; 'House Divided' speech, 324-27; challenges Douglas to debates, 328; debates, 334-37; eulogy on Declaration of Independence, 338-41; campaign expenses, 361; lectures, 362; Ohio speeches, 363-65; speaks in Kansas, 365; proposed for Presidency, 366; Cooper Institute speech, 367-69; nominated for Presidency, 373; accepts nomination, 375, 376.

Elected President, 378; nominee and President-elect, 379-93; departure from Springfield, 393-95; trip to Washington, 395-98; inaugurated, 399-401; appointments, 402-10; life in White House, 410-17; visited by Dennis Hanks, 417-19; asserts intention of controlling cabinet, 436; plan of campaign for war, 440; emancipation proclamation, 442-43; reelected, 448, 450; second inauguration, 452; visits Richmond, 453; conspiracy to assassinate, 462; assassination, 454-59; death, effect of, 458; funeral, 459-61.

Ambition, 304; on biographies, 353; characterization, 431; by Mary Owens, 121; by Speed, 420-25; conscience, 481; conscientiousness, 262-64; descriptions, 35, 95, 471-73; domestic life, 343-51, xliv; humanity, 482-84; indignation when aroused, 264; kindness, 430; as lawyer: unmethodical, 251-54; in law office, 254-57; reluctance to sue for fees, 261; deficient as technical lawyer, 271-73; appearance on circuit, 280; unconventionality in court, 287; melancholy, 473; mental processes, 475-80; orator, 331-33; philosophy, 354, 425; as politician, 427-29; practical mindedness, 351; power of reason, 480; reading habits, 257-60; religious belief, 354-60, 432; controversy over, xxx, xliv-vi; as story teller, 94; great strength, 70, 103; studiousness, 33, 38-39; superstition, 352; temperate habits, 96; v power, 484-87; place in histo 488-90

Lincoln, Mrs. Abraham (Ma Todd), 455, 456; disputed m riage discussed, xliii; motive marrying, 182; proud of husba 237; in Washington, 238; dis sition, 343-45, 410, 474n.; diffic ties with servants, 345-48; domes troubles, 348-50; visits Chica 385n.; accompanies Lincoln Washington, 393; on Lincoln's ligion, 359; letter to Hernd 412; interview with Hernd 413; death, 350. *See also* To Mary

Lincoln, David, letter to, 4

Lincoln, Isaac, 4-5

Lincoln, Jacob, 5

Lincoln, Jesse, letter to, 4

Lincoln, John, 5

Lincoln, Josiah, 5, 11

Lincoln, Mary, 6

Lincoln, Mordecai, 4-5; kills Indi 10; characterization, 11

Lincoln, Nancy, 6

Lincoln, Nancy Hanks, 26-27. *also* Hanks, Nancy

Lincoln, Robert, 412, 455; taken mad stone, 352; visited by L coln, 368; accompanies Lincoln Washington, 393

Lincoln, Sarah, birth, 6; at sch 33; marriage, 17; marriage c brated, 42; death, 44

Lincoln, Sarah Bush Johnston, influence of, 29; encourages L coln's studies, 33; on Linco studiousness, 39; describes L coln's last visit, 30, 387; Linco affection for, 388n.; visited Herndon, 30

Lincoln, Thomas, birth, 5; marri 6; marriage record, 4; charac zation, 12-13; Kentucky lands, 19; removal to Indiana, 19-21; in Indiana, 22; buries dead, second marriage, 27-28; Ind lands, 57n.; in Coles County, death, 60; grave visited by coln, 387

Lincoln, Thomas (Tad), 255, 393, 415, 474

Lincoln, William Wallace, 344, 474; death, effect on Lincoln, 411

Lincoln and Herndon, plead written by Lincoln, 252n.; described, 255; business met

256; counsel in Harrison case, 264n.
Literary World, The, xxxv
Little, Wallace A., 303
Littlefield, John H., on Lincoln as lawyer, 254-57
Lizard' story, 67
Logan, David, 212, 492
Logan, Stephen Trigg, 492; on Lincoln's first campaign, 86; judge, 149; in debate, 154; partnership with Lincoln proposed, 170; partnership with Lincoln, 209; estimate of Lincoln, 210; political aspirations, 210; partnership terminated, 211; withdraws from congressional contest, 215; on circuit, 248; office near Lincoln's, 255; counsel in Harrison case, 264n.; envious of Lincoln, 287; ridiculed by Lincoln, 288; elected to legislature, 301; supports Lincoln for senate, 307n.; and Kansas subscription, 310n.; at Chicago convention, 373-74; Zane's characterization, xvii
Long Nine', described, 138; feted, 145, 155
Lost Township' letters, 185-92
Louisville, Lincoln in, 172
Louisville *Journal,* 93
Lovejoy, Elijah Parish, death, 150; effect on Herndon, xiv
Lovejoy, Owen, attempts to enlist Lincoln with radicals, 298-300; Douglas debates with, 301; at Bloomington convention, 312
Lowell (Mass.), Lincoln in, 232
Lyman, William, 303

McClellan, George Brinton, 284, 337; and Lincoln, 440, 441; defeated for presidency, 448, 450
McClernand, John Alexander, 141, 219, 492
McCormick, Andrew, 138
McCormick *vs.* Manny, 285
McDonald, Joseph E., on Lincoln in Wyant prosecution, 278; on military trials, 449n.
McGaughey, Edward Wilson, 241
McHenry, Henry, 100
McLean county *vs.* Illinois Central, 284 and note
McLean, John, 246, 366; letter to, 253; in reaper case; Lincoln's opinion of, 287
McNabb, Bap., 96-97
McNamar, John, corrects Lincoln's handbill, 84; at New Salem, 107; Anne Rutledge, 108; returns to New York, 109; detained, 110; describes Anne Rutledge, 111; returns to New Salem, 114-15; gives Herndon Anne Rutledge story, xli
McNeil, John, *see* McNamar, John
McWilliams, Amzi, 282
Mackay, Charles, poem, 260
Macon county, Lincolns settle in, 59
Maltby, Harrison, letter to, 317
Manassas, *see* Bull Run
Manchester *Mirror,* 368
Mann, Horace, 220
Marsh, Mathew S., letter, xlii
Massachusetts Historical Society, x
Matheny, Charles Reynolds, heirs, 278
Matheny, James Harvey, xxx, 214, 492; and drunken shoemaker, 151; describes Lincoln's wedding, 180-81
Mather, Thomas, 398
Mather family, 146
Matteson, Joel Alexander, 305
Maynard, Horace, 382, 410
Medill, Joseph, 382
Mentelle, Madame, 164
Merryman, Elias H., duel, 178; Lincoln's second, 193, 201; letter on Shield's duel, 196-204; challenged by Whiteside, 205
Mexican War, supported by Lincoln, 219; opposed, 221-26
Metzker, James Preston, 288
'Milk-sick', attacks Indiana settlement, 25-27, 56
Milton, John, works, 420
Minier, George W., statement, 491-92
Missouri, disorder, 309
Missouri Compromise, repealed, 294, 295
Montauk, The, 463
Moore, John, 393
Morris, Achilles, 135
Morris, Martin M., letter to, 213
Morris, W. M., 362
Morrison, J. L. D., 241-42, 306
'Mortality', *see* Knox, James
Mudd, Samuel, 462, 464
Murray, James, 250
Murray's English Reader, 34

Nation, The, quoted, xxxv-vi
National Era, The, 293
Naylor, Alison, 465
Neale, Thomas M., 132
Needham, Daniel, 64
Nelson, Dr., 68

Nelson, Thomas H., and Lincoln, 244-46
Newton, Isaac, 476
New England, Lincoln in, 231, 368
New Orleans, voyage to, 54, 61-64; slavery at, 63-64 and note
New Salem, boat stranded on dam, 62; Lincoln settles there, 64, 66; description, 65; dam destroyed, 75; people support Lincoln, 87; life in, 96; Lincoln postmaster, 101
Newhall family, 283
New York, Lincoln in, 396
New York *Tribune*, 293
Niagara Falls, 238
Nicolay, John George, 438; on Lincoln's religion, 357n.; secretary, 377, 408, 415, 416; accompanies Lincoln to Washington, 393; version of farewell address, 394 and note
Nicolay, John George, and Hay, John, *Abraham Lincoln: A History*, 105, 434n.
Norton, Jesse Olds, 304
'Nothing to Wear', 479

Offut, Denton, hires Lincoln, 61; Lincoln clerks for, 68; arranges wrestling match, 69; later life, 71
Oglesby, Richard James, 455, 492
'Oh! Why should the spirit of mortal be proud', *see* Knox, James
O'Laughlin, Michael, 462, 464
Opdycke family, 146
Oregon, office offered Lincoln, 243, declined, 246
Orendorff, Alfred, xxvi
Orme, William W., 406
Osgood, Uri, 306
Ottawa, debate, 328, 335
Owen, Sir Richard, 476
Owen, Robert Dale, on Lincoln, 487n.
Owens, Mary, visits New Salem, 116; description of, 117; Lincoln proposes, 118, 123, 124-25, 127-29; rejected, 119; marriage, 129; letters from, to Herndon, 119-21; letters to, from Herndon, 122-25

Pain, John, 314
Paine, Thomas, writings read by Lincoln, 102; Age of Reason, 355
Palmer, John McAuley, 306, 492; revolt against Douglas, 294; speaks at ratification meeting, 315n.
Pappsville, speech, 85
Parker, Theodore, letters to, xvii, xxxviii, 327n.; admired by Herndon, xxi, 293; lecture read by Lincoln, 323; writings admired by L
coln, 359
Parker *vs.* Hoyt, 265
Parks, Samuel Conant, 304
Paulding, James Kirke, 207
Payne, Lewis Thornton, *see* Powe
Peck, Ebenezer, 139, 316, 366
Pekin, Whig convention, 214
People *vs.* Elizabeth Shirtleff *et*
277n.
'Perpetuation of our Free Insti
tions,' speech, 152-53
Petersburg, Whig convention, 218
Philadelphia, Whig convention, 2
Lincoln in, 396, 397
Phillips, Wendell, 320; correspond
of Herndon, xxi, 292; speec
read by Herndon, 293; denoun
Lincoln, 442
Pickett, Thomas J., letter to, 3
charged with fraud, 403
Pierce, Franklin, 316
Pierrepont, Edwards, 464
Pike's Arithmetic, 34
Pilgrim's Progress, 36
Pinckney, Daniel J., 303
Pinkerton, Allan, 398
Pirtle, Henry, 11
Pitcher, John, 53
Pittsburg, Lincoln in, 396
Polk, James Knox, 215, 222
Popular Sovereignty, summed up
Lincoln, 294; issue of debat
334; article of Douglas on, 36
Posey, Francis, aids Lincoln fam
20-21
Posey, ..., 60
Powell, Lewis Thornton, *alias* Pay
462, 464

Quincy debate, 328

Radford, Reuben, 89
Rathbone, Henry R., 455, 456, 4
465
Read, John Meredith, 338
'Rebecca' letters, 185-92
Reed, James A., controversy w
Herndon, xxx-xxxiii
Remsberg, J. E., letter to, xxxi
Republican party, formation in
nois, 312; nominates Lincoln
Senate, 324; 1860 platform, 37
Republican, The (Springfield), le
concerning, 347
Reynolds, John, 77
Rice, E. J., 264
Richardson, Joseph C., 37
Richardson, William Alexander,
318
Richmond, captured, 452

chmond *Enquirer, The,* 293, 298
ckard, Noah, 151
ckard, Sarah, 182
ney, Zachariah, school, 17
ves. George, letter to, 235
obinson Crusoe', 36
by, Absolom, 36
by, Kate, 35
chester, Van Buren in, 208
ckport, Lincoln in, 214
llin, Charles, 93
mine, John, 38
sette, John E., 492; letter to, 347
tledge, Anne, memory, effect on Lincoln, 105; characterization, 106-07, 110-11; courted by McNamar, 108-110; to marry Lincoln, 111-12; death, effect on Lincoln, 112-14; burial place, 115; love recalled by Lincoln, 389; Herndon's lecture, controversy over, xxviii-xxx; lecture discussed, xl-xliii
tledge, James, 90, 106
tledge, John M., 112

. Louis *Republican,* 93
ngamon Journal, read by Lincoln, 93; communication to, 133; editor, 179. *See also* Illinois *Journal,* Illinois *State Journal*
ngamon River, improvement advocated by Lincoln, 61, 87; *Talisman,* 72-75
rgent, Porter, 303
wyer, Elizabeth (Butterfield), letter, 242n.
tt, Winfield, Lincoln's speech, 291; plans for inauguration, 398, 400; disagreement with Lincoln, 440 and note
ripps, John Locke, interview with Lincoln, 1; autobiography for, 5-6
ward, William Henry, 320, 366, 369, 397, 439; speeches read by Herndon, 293; interview with Herndon, 321, 322; effect on 'House Divided' speech, 326; presidential prospects decline, 371; loses nomination, 373; ambition, 414; belief in Lincoln's inferiority, 435; 'Thoughts for the President's Consideration', 436, 437; assassination planned, 462; attempted, 458
akespeare, William, 476; Lincoln's fondness for, 257, 455; works, acquaintance with, 258, 420, 477
aw, J. Henry, 260
eridan, Philip H., 452
erman, William Tecumseh, 452; letter to, 450
ields, James, and internal improvement system, 141; duel with Lincoln, 178; 183-205; duel, influence of, 180; challenges Butler, 205; in Mexican war, 219; Senate, 300; defeated for reelection, 306
Short, James, 101
Shutt, George M., 492
Simmons, Pollard, 98
Simpson, Mathew, 461
Slavery, opposed by Herndon, xxi; and Thomas Lincoln, 20; at New Orleans, 63-64 and note; agitation, 142; protest against, 143-44; bill to abolish, Dist. Columbia, 233; Lincoln on, 295, 310; issue of debates, 334; Republican platform on, 375; abolished, 442-43, 451n.
Smith, Caleb, 220, 381
Smith, Mrs. C. M. (Anne Todd), 165
Smith, James, controversy with Herndon, xxix
Smith, Robert, 220
Smoot, Coleman, 104
Spangler, Edward, 456, 462, 464
Sparrow, Betsy (Hanks), 13; in Indiana, 21; death, 26
Sparrow, Henry, 2n.
Sparrow, Thomas, 13; in Indiana, 21; death, 26
Speed, James, 172
Speed, Joshua Fry, 241n.; Herndon works for, xv; letter to Drake, 114; Lincoln rooms with, 148; store of, 150; witnesses 'skinning' of Thomas, 159; introduces Lincoln and Mary Todd, 166; advises Lincoln to break engagement, 168; on Lincoln's depression, 170; Lincoln visits, 171-73; marriage, 173, 175; with Lincoln in Chicago, 385; on relations with Lincoln, 420-25; letters to, from Lincoln: on marriage, 174-78; on duels, 205; defeat by Baker, 212; married life, 237; on Everett law suit, 252; slavery, 310
Speed, Mrs. Lucy G., influence on Lincoln, 172-73
Spencer, Herbert, 353, 476
'Spot Resolutions,' 221-23
Springfield, Herndon elected mayor, xxiii; *Talisman* celebration, 74; lots purchased by Lincoln, 99; life in, 123, 146; state capital, 141-42; Lincoln removes to, 145; first legislature, 156; Lincoln speaks at, 328
Springfield Marine and Fire Insurance Co., 362n.

Stanton, Edwin McMasters, 442, 495; in reaper case, 285; and Dennis Hanks, 418-19; assassination planned, 462
Stephens, Alexander Hamilton, 220, 382; Lincoln's opinion of, 225
Steubenville, Lincoln in, 396
Stewart, ..., 465
Stoddard, William O., on effect of Lincoln's death, 458
Stone, Dan, elected to legislature, 138; anti-slavery protest, 144; practices law in Springfield, 149
Stone, Frederick, 465
Story's Equity, 261
Strong, Schuyler, 149
Strunk, John, 304, 305
Stuart, John Todd, xxx, 492; induces Lincoln to study law, 91; elected to legislature, 104; encourages Lincoln, 145; partnership with Lincoln, 147, 209; practices law in Springfield, 149; letters to, 170-71; envious of Lincoln, 287; reminiscence, 292; protest on Lincoln's affiliation with Republicans, 311; on Lincoln's religion, 356; blue mass pills, 473
Stuart family, 146
Stuart and Edwards, 263
Stuart and Lincoln, office, 148; practice, 149
Suicide, lines on, 172
Sumner, Charles, 320; Herndon's estimate, xxii; correspondent of Herndon, 292; speeches read by Herndon, 293; envious of Lincoln, 416
Sumner, Edwin V., 393
Sumter, Fort, 434, 453
Supreme Court, Illinois, 162
Surratt, Mrs. Annie, 462, 464
Surratt, John H., 464
Swan, Hurlbut, 303
Sweeney, William, school, 34
Swett, Leonard, on circuit, 248, 282; defends Wyant, 278; at Bloomington convention, 312; complains of 'House Divided' speech, 327; on Lincoln as trial lawyer, 269; on Davis appointment, 405-08; on Lincoln's character, 425-33
Sweet, Martin P., 241, 303

Talcott, Waite, 303
Talcott, Wash., letter to, 403
Talisman, The, ascends Sangamon, xv, 72-75
Taney, Roger Brooke, 434, 451; administers oath to Lincoln, 399, 401
Tanner, ..., 277n.
Taylor, Edmund Dick, 157, 298
Taylor, Green B., 41
Taylor, James, 52
Taylor Zachary, 229, in Black Ha war, 82; nomination, 226; Linc campaigns for, 231
Temperance, Herndon campaigns f xxiii
Thomas, Jesse B., frequents Spee store, 149-50; in debate, 15 'skinned' by Lincoln, 159
Thomas, George H., 452
Thomas, Richard S., letter to, 212
Thompson, Jacob, x
Thompson, Richard W., 246
Thompson, Lincoln wrestles,
Todd, Mrs. Anne Eliza Parker, 1
Todd, Mary, girlhood, 163; ancest 164; comes to Springfield, 1 165; meets Lincoln, 166; court by Douglas, 167; wedding failu 169; reconciliation with Linco 177, 178-79; marriage, 180; ri cules Shields, 184; 'Rebecca' ter, 190; 'Cathleen' lines, 1 *See also* Lincoln, Mrs. Abraham
Todd, Robert S., 164
Todd family, 146
Toombs, Robert, 220
Townsend, George Alfred, on He don, xxvii
Trapp, Albert H., 306
Treat, Samuel Hubbel, 251, 320, 4 practices law in Springfield, 1 on circuit, 249; Lincoln's first preme court case, 260
Trent Brothers, 90
Truesdale, Calvin, letter to, 403
Trumbull, Lyman, 316; letter from Herndon, xx; speaks Springfield, 298; senatorial pirations, 303; elected sena 305-07; at Bloomington conv tion, 312; interview with He don, 321
Turner, Thomas J., 220, 303
Turnham, David, on life in India 22; on Lincoln's boyhood, Statutes of Indiana, 40; on so sung in Indiana, 48-49; buys coln property, 57

Van Bergen, Peter, 101
Van Buren, Martin, 207
Vandalia, 131, 142
'Vestiges of Creation', 354
Vineyard, Mrs. Jesse, *see* Ow Mary
Volney, Constantine de, writi 102, 355

Voltaire, Francois Marie Arouet de, writings, 102
Voorhees, D. W., 282

Walker, Cyrus, 149
Wallace, William S., 167, 393
Wallace, Mrs. William S., (Frances Todd), 165
Ward, Artemus, *pseud.* (Charles Brockden Brown) 379
Ward Academy, 164
Warnick, William, 60
Warren, Louis Austin, 18n.
Washburne, Elihu Benjamin, 285, 316, 403; letters to, on senatorship, 303, 305-07; meets Lincoln in Washington, 397
Washington, arrival at, 397
Washington Society, address, 206; effect, 218
Webster, Daniel, supports Butterfield, 242n., 243; speeches models for Lincoln, 327, 386
Webster's Spelling Book, 34
Weed, Thurlow, visits Lincoln, 383; interview with Lincoln, 426; on Lincoln's use of patronage, 429
Weems, Mason Locke, *Washington*, 36, 53
Weik, Jesse William, collaborates with Herndon, viii, xxxiii; on last meeting of Herndon and Lincoln in law office, 391-393; letters to: on Butterfield, 242n.; from Campbell, 329; from Conkling, 444n.; from McDonald, 449n.
Weldon, Lawrence, on Lincoln as circuit lawyer, 257; eulogy, 496
Wentworth, John, 220
Westminster *Review*, 353
Wheeler, Alanson K., 304
Whig party, espoused by Lincoln, 85; moribund, 310-12
White, Albert S., 246
White, Horace, edits Herndon's *Lincoln*, xxxvii; on Herndon's *Lincoln*, xlvi; preserves eulogy on Declaration of Independence, 340
White, Hugh Lawson, 134
Whiteman, 282
Whiteside, John Davis, in Lincoln-Shields duel, 178, 193-96, 201, 202; challenges Merryman, 205
Whitney, Henry Clay, paymaster, 435n.; on Lincoln's opinion of Herndon, 252; life on circuit, 282; on Lincoln during debates, 336; Lincoln as lecturer, 363; Lincoln's last interview with Douglas, 434n; on Lincoln and battle of Bull Run, 439-41
Whitney, Doctor, 303
Wigfall, Louis Tresvall, 401
Willard's Hotel, 397, 399
Williams, Archibald, 284
Wilson, Henry, 320; interview with Herndon, 321; letter, 383-85
Wilson, Robert L., on Lincoln's melancholy, 114; describes political meeting, 136; elected to legislature, 138; on Lincoln and capital contest, 141; Lincoln and battle of Bull Run, 438
Wilson, William, 80
Winthrop, Robert Charles, 220
Woman suffrage, Lincoln and, 133-34
Wood, William, 53
Wood, W. S., 393
Worcester, speech, 232
Wright, Mrs. Marjorie Brown, x
Wright case, 274-76
Wyant, Isaac, 278

Yates, Richard, 316, 406, 455; at Bloomington convention, 312; appoints Herndon bank commissioner, 391; accompanies Lincoln from Springfield, 393
Young Men's Lyceum, 152

Zane, Charles S., 492; describes Lincoln and Herndon, xvi; partnership with Herndon, xxvi

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